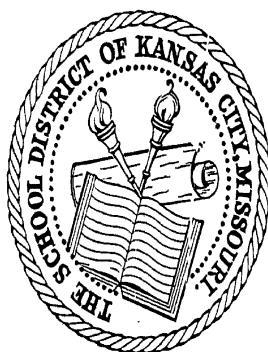


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ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
FOR  
THE YEAR 1915



WASHINGTON  
1917



## LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
*Washington, D. C., October 3, 1916.*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1915. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*



## ACT OF INCORPORATION.

---

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]



## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
*Washington, D. C., September 1, 1916.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, as provided for by law, the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1915. The first portion of this report is devoted to the proceedings of the association during 1915 with a number of the papers read at the annual meeting in Washington in December, 1915. In addition the volume contains the sixteenth report of the public archives commission, including reports on the public archives of California and of Vermont.

Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

THE SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
*Washington, D. C.*





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# CONSTITUTION.

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## I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

## II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

## III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

## IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

## V.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

## VI.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.



## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress  
January 4, 1889.

---

### OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 29, 1915.

#### PRESIDENT:

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Cornell University.*

#### VICE PRESIDENT:

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M.,  
*Massachusetts Historical Society.*

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,  
*Cambridge.*

#### SECRETARY:

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M.,  
*Carnegie Institution of Washington.*

#### TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D.,  
*New York.*

#### SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL:

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D.,  
*University of Illinois.*

#### CURATOR:

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,  
*Smithsonian Institution.*

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

(Ex-Presidents.)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L.,  
*Ithaca, N. Y.*

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.,  
*Washington, D. C.*

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,  
*Boston, Mass.*

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. LITT.,  
*Boston, Mass.*

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,  
*University of Pennsylvania.*

## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,  
*New Haven, Conn.*

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Carnegie Institution of Washington.*

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,  
*Yale University.*

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,  
*Columbia University.*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L.,  
*Oyster Bay, N. Y.*

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,  
*Columbia University.*

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B.,  
*University of Chicago.*

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D.,  
*University of California.*

(Elected Councillors.)

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D.,  
*University of Texas.*

GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D.,  
*University of Minnesota.*

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D.  
*University of Michigan.*

SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D.,  
*Indiana State University.*

LUCY M. SALMON, A. M.,  
*Vassar College.*

## PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

---

### OFFICERS ELECTED NOVEMBER 27, 1915.

#### PRESIDENT:

JOSEPH SCHAFER, PH. D.,  
*University of Oregon.*

#### VICE PRESIDENT:

JEANNE W. WIER, B. DL., A. B.,  
*University of Nebraska.*

#### SECRETARY-TREASURER:

WILLIAM A. MORRIS, PH. D.,  
*University of California.*

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

JANE E. HARNETT,  
*Long Beach High School.*

PERCY A. MARTIN, PH. D.,  
*Stanford University.*

RICHARD F. SCHOLZ,  
*University of California.*





## TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus: †.)

---

### EX-PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884-1885.  
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.  
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.  
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.  
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.  
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.  
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.  
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.  
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.  
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.  
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.  
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1897.  
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.  
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1899.  
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.  
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.  
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.  
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.  
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.  
JOHN BACH MCMASTER, PH. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.  
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.  
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907.  
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., Litt. D., 1908.  
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.  
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.  
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1912.  
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1913.  
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., 1914.  
H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D., 1915.

### EX-VICE PRESIDENTS.

†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.  
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.  
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.  
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.  
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.  
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.  
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890-1893.  
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.  
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.  
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.  
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.  
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.  
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1897, 1898.  
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.  
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.  
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.  
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1901.  
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.

†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.  
 †GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.  
 †EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903.  
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904.  
 SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.  
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1905, 1906.  
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1906, 1907.  
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1907, 1908.  
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1908, 1909.  
 WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.  
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1910, 1911.  
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.  
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., 1912, 1913.  
 H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1913, 1914.  
 GEORGE L. BURR, LL. D., LITT. D., 1914, 1915.

## SECRETARIES :

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884-1899.  
 A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.  
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900-1913.  
 WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—  
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1914—

## TREASURER :

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884—

## CURATOR :

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—

## EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

†WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.  
 †CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884-1887.  
 †MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.  
 EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884-1885.  
 FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., LITT. D., 1885-1887.  
 †WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887.  
 †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888.  
 †RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888.  
 JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887-1891.  
 ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., LL. D., 1887-1889.  
 †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888-1891.  
 †GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896.  
 JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894.  
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1891-1894.  
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.  
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1894-1895.  
 †JABEZ LAMAR MONBOE CURRY, LL. D., 1894-1895.  
 H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1895-1899.  
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.  
 EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896-1897.  
 †MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897-1900.  
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LITT. D., 1897-1900.  
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.  
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1899-1902.  
 †PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.  
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1900-1903.  
 A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.  
 HERBERT PUTNAM, LITT. D., LL. D., 1901-1904.  
 GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., 1902-1905.  
 EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, LL. D., 1902-1905.  
 †EDWARD G. BOURNE, PH. D., 1903-1906.  
 †GEORGE P. GARRISON, PH. D., 1904-1907.  
 †REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D., 1904-1907.  
 CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, PH. D., L. H. D., 1905-1908.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH. D., 1905-1908.  
 WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909.  
 WILLIAM MacDONALD, PH. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.  
 MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907-1910.  
 FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., 1907-1910.  
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1908-1911.  
 CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D., 1908-1911.  
 FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., PH. D., 1909-1912.  
 EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D., 1909-1912.  
 JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., LL. D., 1910-1913.  
 FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D., 1910-1913.  
 HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH. D., 1911-1914.  
 DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M., 1911-1914.  
 ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D., 1912-1914.  
 JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D., 1912-1915.  
 FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH. D., LL. D., 1913-1915.  
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1913—  
 EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D., 1914—  
 GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D., 1914—  
 ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D., 1914—  
 LUCY M. SALMON, A. M., 1915—  
 SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D., 1915—



## COMMITTEES, 1916.

---

*Committee on program for the thirty-second annual meeting.*—Henry E. Bourne, chairman; Frank M. Anderson, Wilbur H. Siebert, Edward R. Turner, Merrick Whitcomb, James A. Woodburn.

*Committee on local arrangements.*—Charles P. Taft, chairman; Charles T. Greve, vice chairman; Isaac J. Cox, secretary; Charles W. Dabney, Judson Harmon, H. C. Hollister, H. B. Mackoy, Philip V. N. Myers, T. C. Powell, W. P. Rogers, John L. Shearer, with power to add to their membership.

*Committee on nominations.*—Frank M. Anderson, Dartmouth College; Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, University of Wisconsin; Edmond S. Meany, University of Washington; Charles H. Rammelkamp, Illinois College; Alfred H. Stone, Dunleith, Miss.

*Editors of the American Historical Review.*—Edward P. Cheyney, chairman; Carl Becker, Ephraim Emerton, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

*Historical manuscripts commission.*—Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress, chairman; Charles H. Ambler, Herbert E. Bolton, Milo M. Quaife, William O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.

*Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.*—Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, chairman; George L. Beer, Allen Johnson, Everett Kimball, Orin G. Libby.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Louis J. Paetow, Ruth Putnam, William R. Shepherd.

*Public archives commission.*—Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, George S. Godard, Charles Moore, Thomas M. Owen.

*Committee on bibliography.*—George M. Dutcher, chairman; William T. La-  
prade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, William A. Slade, Bernard C. Steiner.

*Committee on publications.*—Henry B. Learned, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Carl R. Fish, Evarts B. Greene, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M. Larson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits.

*General committee.*—William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, James M. Callahan, Clarence E. Carter, Isaac J. Cox, Eloise Ellery, Evarts B. Greene, Waldo G. Leland, Robert M. McElroy, William A. Morris, Irene T. Myers, Edmund S. Noyes, Paul F. Peck, Morgan P. Robinson, Royal B. Way.

*Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.*—Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.

*Committee on history in schools.*—William S. Ferguson, Harvard University, chairman; Victoria A. Adams, Henry E. Bourne, Henry L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, Oliver M. Dickerson, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, Margaret McGill, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson.

*Conference of historical societies.*—Augustus H. Shearer, secretary.

*Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine.*—Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Fred M. Fling, James Sullivan, Anna B. Thompson, Frederic Duncalf, O. H. Williams.

*Committee on the military history prize.*—Capt. Arthur L. Conger, U. S. A., Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.

*Special committee on finance.*—Cheesman A. Herrick, Girard College, Philadelphia, chairman; Howard L. Gray, Arthur C. Howland.

*Committee on cooperation with the National Highways Association.*—Archer B. Hulbert.

## ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

---

The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, N. Y., on September 10, 1884, with an enrollment of 40 members, and incorporated by act of Congress of January 4, 1889.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member. Applications for membership and nominations (by persons already members) of new members should be addressed to the secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The annual dues are fixed at \$3, payable on September 1 for the year then beginning. Life membership, with exemption from annual dues, may be secured upon payment of \$50.

The publications regularly distributed to members are the *American Historical Review*, the *Annual Report*, and the *Handbook*. The first of these is published quarterly (October, January, April, July) under the direction of a board of editors elected by the executive council. Each number contains 200 or more pages and is composed of articles, documents, reviews of books, and notes and news. The *Annual Report*, printed by order of Congress, is in one or two volumes and contains the proceedings of the annual meetings, the report of the public archives commission with its appendices consisting of inventories, catalogues, etc., of materials in State and other archives, and collections of documents edited by the historical manuscripts commission. The *Handbook*, containing the names, addresses, and professional positions of members, is published at biennial or longer intervals. Back numbers of the *American Historical Review* may be obtained from the Macmillan Co., of New York. Copies of the annual reports of past years, or of separates of articles or publications appearing therein, may be obtained, so far as available, from the secretary of the association.

The prize essays of the association are published in a separate series, one volume appearing each year, and are supplied to members for \$1 each, to non-members for \$1.50.

The *Study of History in Secondary Schools*, being the report of the committee of seven (1899), is published by the Macmillan Co., of New York, at 50 cents.

The *Study of History in Elementary Schools*, being the report of the committee of eight (1909), is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at 50 cents.

*Original Narratives of Early American History* is a series of reprints edited for the association by J. F. Jameson and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at \$3 a volume.

*Writings on American History* is an annual bibliography compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin. The volumes for 1912 and succeeding years are published by the Yale University Press. Previous issues can be obtained from the secretary.



The annual meetings of the association are held during the period December 27-31, in various cities. At these meetings there are sessions with formal papers, sessions partaking of the nature of round-table conferences, and conferences of archivists and of historical societies. Annual meetings of other associations, the interests of which are allied to those of the American Historical Association, are generally held at the same time and place.

Committees on archives, on historical manuscripts, on bibliography, on various phases of history teaching, as well as other committees appointed from time to time for special purposes, carry on the activities of the association throughout the year.

## HISTORICAL PRIZES.

[Winsor and Adams prizes.]

---

For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association regularly offers two prizes, each of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of award on or before July 1 of the given year, e. g., by July 1, 1917, for the Adams prize in European history, and by July 1, 1916, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

II. *A. For the Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

*B. For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The monograph must present subject matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusions, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate and the author in his treatment of the facts collected must show originality and power of interpretation.

IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities.

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted or should it consist of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

V. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

[In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper, to have text and notes alike double spaced, to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page. In abbreviating the titles of works cited care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear and consistent. The typographical style as to capitalization, punctuation, spelling, etc., of the volumes already published in the series of Prize Essays should be followed.]

VI. In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography, the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.

VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VIII. The successful monograph shall be the property of the American Historical Association, which reserves to itself all rights of publication, translation, and sale, both in the United States and in foreign countries.

IX. The manuscript of the successful essay, when finally submitted for printing, must be in such form, typographically (see Rule V) and otherwise, as to require only a reasonable degree of editing in order to prepare it for the press. Such additional editorial work as may be necessary, including any copying of the manuscript, shall be at the expense of the author.

Galley and page proof will be sent to the author for revision, but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

An adequate index must be provided by the author.

X. The amount of the prize, minus such deductions as may be made under Rule IX, will be paid to the author upon the publication of the essay.

XI. The author shall be entitled to receive 10 bound copies of the printed volume, and to purchase further copies at the rate of \$1 per volume. Such unbound copies, with special title-page, as may be necessary for the fulfillment of thesis requirements, will be furnished at cost, but no copies of the volume will be furnished the author for private sale.

Address all correspondence relative to the Justin Winsor prize to Prof. Carl R. Fish, Madison, Wis., and all correspondence relative to the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to Prof. Laurence M. Larson, Urbana, Ill.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina," with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Anti-slavery sentiment before 1808."

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights," with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party," with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter; a study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy," with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774," with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania—slavery, servitude, freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Arthur Charles Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

1914. Mary Wilhelmine Williams, "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The Spiritual Franciscans," with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The interdict: Its history and its operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and fifth-monarchy men in England during the interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour, "Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington."

1915. Theodore C. Pease, "The Leveller movement," with honorable mention of F. C. Melvin, "Napoleon's system of licensed navigation, 1806-1814."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Miss Brown, Miss Barbour, and Miss Williams have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the Annual Reports.

A subscription made by friends of the association interested in military history enables it to offer a prize of \$250 for the best essay in the military history of the United States. The conditions are defined as follows:

#### MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

A prize of \$250 will be awarded by the American Historical Association in 1915 for the best unpublished monograph in military history submitted to the committee before September 1, 1915.

I. The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation into some field of the military history of the United States. While the committee will receive any scholarly work on any American war, it would suggest that in the selection of topics for investigation preference be given to the Civil War. The monograph may deal with a campaign, a battle, a phase or aspect of a campaign or battle, with the fortunes of a corps or division during a battle, or with such subjects as the mobilization or organization of volunteer forces, the matériel, transportation, or food supply of an army, or strategy and military policy.

II. The monograph must be a distinct contribution to knowledge.

III. The monograph must (1) be based upon exhaustive research, (2) conform to the canons of historical criticism, (3) be presented in scientific form, (4) contain exact references to sources and secondary works, and (5) be accompanied by a full critical bibliography.

IV. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

V. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and literary form. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VI. The successful monograph shall remain the property of the author. The American Historical Association assumes no responsibility for publication of the prize essay, but the committee has already received offers respecting its publication, which will be communicated to the winner of the prize.

VII. The monograph must be accompanied by the name and address of the author, in a sealed envelope, and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work.

Address all correspondence relative to the military history prize to Capt. A. L. Conger, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

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L. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-FIRST  
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 27-31, 1915.

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## THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT WASHINGTON.<sup>1</sup>

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The act of Congress of January 4, 1889, incorporating the American Historical Association, makes Washington the official headquarters of the organization. Seven of its first eleven meetings were held in that city. When, as the result of a gently insurgent movement in 1895, the association began to go regularly on circuit an informal rule was posited, in accordance with which the society should hold its annual meetings, in triennial rotation, first in some eastern city, then in some western city, then in the Capital. In reality, however, the rule has been more often infringed than followed. After 1895 the society did not again meet in Washington till 1901. In 1905 that city had a share in a meeting held mostly in Baltimore, in 1908 in a meeting held mostly in Richmond. From 1901 until December, 1915, there was no meeting held entirely in Washington.

In a sense, however, the association when it meets in Washington meets *chez soi*. It is entitled to meet here without local invitation, and the local members, though glad to join in extending such an invitation, may comfort themselves with the thought of these statutory rights and of the various attractions of the National Capital whenever they wish to excuse to themselves the less elaborate character, in comparison with what has been extended in some other cities, of the welcome they were able to put forward. They share the gratitude felt by out-of-town members for the generous hospitality accorded, in very agreeable receptions, by the Regents and Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and by the Hon. and Mrs. John W. Foster. The Department of State included the officers of the society and the chairmen of its committees among those invited to the handsome reception given at the building of the Pan-American Union in honor of the representatives of American Republics convened at the same time in the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. The Catholic University of America, with great generosity, invited the association to luncheon in one of its interesting buildings at Brookland; the invitation deserves to be recorded with none the less gratitude though considerations of distance and of adjustment

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<sup>1</sup> This account is adapted from that in the American Historical Review for April, 1916.



with other elements of the program hindered the committee of local arrangements from acceptance.

The chairman of the committee on program was Prof. Charles D. Hazen. That of the committee of local arrangements was at first Dr. Herbert Putnam, afterward Dr. S. N. D. North. The work of the latter committee was invested with unusual difficulty because of the enormous influx into Washington of other scientific societies holding meetings at the same time. Not only did the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Society of International Law, the Naval History Society, the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, and some other societies with which the American Historical Association is more or less accustomed to be associated on these occasions, hold annual meetings at the same time and place, but an enormous gathering of scientists of the United States and of Latin America, attended from December 27 to January 8 the sessions of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. Also, the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists was held in Washington in the closing days of December.

With several of these societies joint sessions were held. The most notable of these was that held in conjunction with the American Economic Association on the first evening. In this Prof. Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, president of the economists, read his presidential address, on the Apportionment of Representatives;<sup>1</sup> and this was followed by the learned and thoughtful address, on Nationality and History, which Prof. H. Morse Stephens delivered as president of the American Historical Association, and which is printed in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1916.

An agreeable feature of another session was the reading of a letter of greeting from Lord Bryce, the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association, who when it last met in Washington had, with Lady Bryce, welcomed it with cordial hospitality at the British Embassy. He urged upon the attention of American historians the duty of making the contribution, which their unique position during the great war gave them the opportunity to make, toward writing the history of its causes and developments. He also adverted to the historical aspects of nationalism, which was to be the theme of one of the sessions, and to the partially changed light in which British Liberals, after the experiences of 60 years, were now obliged to view the principal of nationality.

By a greater extension than has been usual, the meeting occupied four days, from Tuesday, December 28, to Friday, December 31,

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the supplement to the *American Economic Review* for March (VI, 3 ff.).

inclusive. Headquarters were at the New Willard Hotel. The program seemed to most members excellent and, spread over four days, was marked by a happy avoidance of congestion, though some of the good effect was undone by the excessive concourse of other societies. The registration was 430.

Among the sessions having a general character, as distinguished from those devoted to specific fields of history, one stands out as of especial practical importance, the meeting held in the interest of a national archive building in Washington. The movement for the erection of such a building, and for ending the discreditable conditions now existing in respect to Government archives in Washington, has now been for eight years pursued by the association. Ultimate success is certain, and in such form that, without exaggeration, we are destined to have the finest national archive building in the world. The erection of such a building has been authorized, but no appropriation has yet been made for anything beyond the preparation of preliminary plans and estimates. In the hope that appropriations for construction may speedily be obtained an impressive demonstration of needs and possibilities was arranged for the first afternoon session, a session held in the Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and presided over by Senator Poin-dexter, who has been the leader in all legislative promotion of the object. A full account of this meeting will be found in the report of the public archives commission contained in this volume.<sup>1</sup>

The annual conference of historical societies was presided over by Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society. The secretary, Mr. Augustus H. Shearer, made the usual report of such statistics as he had been able to obtain from a considerable number of societies as to accessions and other progress during the past year. The main theme of the conference, however, was the acquisition, the care, and the use of the papers of business houses in historical work.<sup>2</sup>

Another session having general objects in view was the conference of teachers of history, in which the main matter propounded for discussion was the question, whether more precise definition is desirable either for college-entrance requirements or for general courses in secondary schools. Remarks were made by Dr. James Sullivan, Miss Margaret McGill, and Profs. Herbert D. Foster, Henry E. Bourne, Eugene M. Violette, and Edgar Dawson. There was general agreement in favor of a more precise definition. The association's committee on history teaching, of which Prof. William S. Ferguson, of Harvard, is chairman, was authorized to prepare such a definition

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 262-264.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of this conference see pp. 233-239 of this volume.

upon the basis of a list of essential topics to be emphasized and a list of collateral readings.<sup>1</sup>

Turning now to those numerous papers that dealt with restricted fields of history, it may conduce to clearness if we take them up in the chronological order of their subjects rather than in the partly casual order into which they were thrown by the exigencies of program making.

In ancient history the chosen theme was the "Economic causes of international rivalries and wars in ancient times." There were two main papers, by Prof. Ferguson and by Prof. George W. Botsford, of Columbia University. The tracing of ancient Greek wars to economic causes was, said the former, a procedure not unknown to Greek thought, and many facts can be adduced in support of the contention. Yet most Greek wars were between Greek city-states, and Greek cities and parts of Greece do not now fight with each other, despite economic rivalries. The origins of the old Greek wars are, in fact, to be sought in many causes besides the mere collision of economic forces—the same varied causes which in all modern history have bred wars between the large States of Europe—and as in the one case so in the other, wars may finally be checked by higher organization and developed policy.

After an acute analysis of the causes of the Peloponnesian War and of the war of 395 B. C., Prof. Ferguson summed up:

To conclude: There were many different causes of war in ancient Greece. Each nation was a complex of ideas as well as of men; of hopes, fears, and memories, as well as of desires; of customs as well as of institutions; yet through them all live wires of internationalism ran, transmitting both war and peace. There were as many possibilities of wars as there were points of contact. They fought for land, they fought for trade; they fought to gratify the vanity or ambition of leaders or kings, and they fought to gratify their own pride; they fought through fear, and they fought for revenge. They never fought, I think, because they liked fighting.<sup>2</sup>

With a similar unwillingness to attribute constant and predominating influence to any one cause, Prof. Botsford reviewed the origins of various Roman wars. Economic factors operated to some extent, but many other motives, motives of defense, for instance, and even individual ambition, played quite as frequent a part. Nearly all the wars of the imperial period were either directly defensive, or waged for the securing of more defensible boundaries, or for bringing, in other ways, increased security to the empire.

In the discussion which followed Prof. Tenney Frank, of Bryn Mawr, laid emphasis upon the frequent difficulty of substantiating

<sup>1</sup> The papers read at this meeting, as well as those read at the similar meeting in Berkeley, July 22, 1915, may be found in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, June, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Printed on pp. 113-121 of this volume.

the surmise that a given war, in ancient history, was caused by economic pressure, but he developed an interesting instance of its indirect action in the case of the Second Punic War by showing how large a part in causing that war was played not by any economic motives working directly on the Roman mind but by the commercial rivalries of Carthage and Marseille in Spain. Dr. A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, discussed mainly the evidences to be derived from Isocrates, explaining the reasons for laying especial value on his statements, and concluding that in the wars of his period, even against Persia, economic motives could never have been foremost. Similar conclusions were sustained by Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The session devoted to medieval history had as its especial subject "Medieval colonization." It was opened by a paper by Prof. James Westfall Thompson, of Chicago, elaborating a theme to which he had devoted a few pages of his paper at the Boston meeting,<sup>1</sup> that of East German colonization. On the one hand he endeavored to explain the economic and social motives which, in settled western Germany, led small landowners and the dispossessed to retire before the extension of large proprietorship and the feudal system and to take refuge and seek free land and carve out new fortunes in the thinly populated lands lying to the eastward. On the other hand, he traced, from Charlemagne's time to the thirteenth century, the development of successive frontiers and the progressive acquisition of one Slavic area after another. In the time of Charlemagne the frontier of settlement barely reached beyond the Rhine. Under the Saxon emperors it was extended to the Aller and the Saale, to Bamberg and the mountains of Styria. During the Franconian period Wendish revolts in Nordalbingia and Slavic resistance elsewhere prevented farther advance, but under the first Hohenstaufens the forward pressure of the Germans carried them quickly to the occupation of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. The machinery for the encouragement of settlement, the system of rectangular survey, the methods of economic exploitation, were effectively described, and the analogies between the eastward movement of the Germans and the westward movement characteristic of American history were shown to be much more than superficial.<sup>2</sup>

The "Problems of Anglo-Saxon settlement" were treated by Prof. Howard L. Gray, of Bryn Mawr, with an eye mainly to the social aspects of the early village. Using place-names as a chief source of knowledge, and taking five typical shires for comparison, he showed that villages having names in *-ing-* and *-ham* represent a

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<sup>1</sup> American Historical Review, XVIII, 494-497.

<sup>2</sup> Printed, pp. 125-150 of this volume.

first or eastern stratum of colonization, those in *-ton* a second or midland stratum, and those in *-ley* a third or western. Entering particularly into the consideration of names in *-ing-*, like Billingham or Harlington, he showed that the attribution of a patronymic meaning to that syllable had an insecure foundation; that it sometimes signified "hill" and perhaps as often meant "belonging to" as "descendants of." Evidence from such sources, for a democratic organization of early Anglo-Saxon society, such as historians of the last generation had confidently imagined, was weak; quasi-manorial or aristocratic organization was more likely.

In a paper on the "Genoese as colonizers," Dr. Eugene H. Byrne, of Wisconsin, made it plain that their experiments in colonization must be studied in close connection with the commercial and political conditions in the commune of Genoa itself. In the twelfth century the city was governed by a small group of families who also monopolized the foreign trade, especially that with Syria; they placed various members of a single family, the Embriaci, in control of the colonies in Syria. This family acquired almost complete independence of the commune, except in Acre; the branch of the family holding Acre, however, continued to reside in Genoa, employing salaried administrators for this colony. About 1190 this group of families lost their political grasp in Genoa; with it their commercial monopoly disappeared. The trade with Syria was thrown open to the people; with the establishment of a more centralized government at home, based on greater democracy, the colonies in Syria, newly reestablished after the successes of the third crusade, were for the first time placed under the direct control of the commune through two consules et vicecomites appointed for a limited term by the city government, now under a podestà. The colonial experiments of the Genoese in Syria in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries enabled them to erect a great colonial power in Pera and the Black Sea region after the restoration of the Greek Empire.

Lastly, in a paper on "Monastic colonization in Spain," Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, of Washington, set forth the process by which the Spanish monastic orders had provided for the industrial occupation of lands won back from the Mohammedans in Central Spain. A very substantial body of material, it was pointed out, is to be found already in print. Spanish investigators have traditionally been interested in all the evidence obtainable bearing upon the legal position and public activities of the church, the crown, and various classes and corporations. Innumerable instances could be cited from these printed data of the manner in which the religious orders, contemplative, military, or mendicant, resolutely went at the task of developing deserted valleys into communities capable of serving as barriers against the infidel and the desert. The process

was greatly helped by the effectiveness of the right of asylum, an immunity from jurisdiction long since firmly buttressed by the sanction of ancient theological and legal traditions.

The monotony which sometimes besets congresses for paper-reading was broken up in the case of the session devoted primarily to modern European history by the happy expedient of having but one paper, by Prof. James H. Robinson, of Columbia University, to which more amplitude than the usual twenty minutes was allowed, and to which the other papers or addresses of the morning should bear the relation of comment or criticism. Prof. Robinson's topic was the "Historical aspects of nationalism."<sup>1</sup> The aspects considered by those who discussed his paper were not always historical, but all were interesting and suggestive. He pointed out, first, that nationalism is one of those "mystical entities" or corporate emotions with which the historical student is familiar. These are spontaneously generated because of man's pronounced social instincts, and are reflections of his anxiety to be part of a larger body in whose achievements and aspirations he can share. The next question is, What is there novel in national spirit as we know it to-day? This suggested a review of social entities familiar in history—the family, tribe, city, guild, and the like—and of the corporate loyalties and responsibilities they imply. The attitude of Cicero toward patriotism, of contemporaries toward the Roman Empire, the emergence of the "national state" from feudal conditions, were passed in review. The latter phenomenon did not produce necessarily any national feeling in our modern sense, for the central idea was rather that of the fidelity of subjects to their king than that of citizens toward their state. Modern national feeling is a by-product of another mystical entity, democracy, and was powerfully furthered by the work of the French Revolution and of Napoleon. Fichte's *Reden* gave the first startling example of the old sentiment in its new form. The way was indicated by which the historical student could trace, in German and other nations, the development and cultivation of such emotions in the nineteenth century.

The more vital problem, however, is the emergence of modern internationalism. This runs counter to the primitive and uncritical sentiments which underlie nationalism. Internationalism demands clear thinking and conscious adjustment, while nationalism is after all the primitive tribal sentiment, and is now associated with various gross misapprehensions about inherent racial differences which anthropologists, psychologists, and historians are busy dissipating.

In opening the discussion of this paper Prof. Edward B. Krehbiel, of Stanford University, confined himself to the problem of economic

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<sup>1</sup>Printed in the *Century Magazine*, November, 1916.

self-interest as the foundation of the nation. At their first formation nations were groups plainly isolated from other national groups and having obviously separate economic interests, which the monarch easily represented; but what is the rôle of economic self-interest in this present world, in which nations are so interpenetrated and interwoven? Extra-national commercialism has called into existence many undertakings which operate outside the nation when prosperous, but claim its protection and aid in stress or competition. National competition, however, will be sustained by democracies only so long as the profits from it are believed to exceed its costs. When that is no longer believed, nationalism will have lost what basis it still has in the material world and will be altogether an ideal. The modern tendency is certainly toward ever-enlarging cooperative units (e. g., the Zollverein).

Adverting first to the standing difficulty of defining "nationality" and "nationalism," Prof. William T. Laprade, of Trinity College, North Carolina, dissented from Mr. Robinson as to nationalism being a product of democracy, for in England and France certainly nationalism preceded democracy. The sentiment and the institutions accompanying it appeared to the speaker to have been born of the practical struggles made by each generation to solve its peculiar problems, to have been the product of natural evolution rather than of conscious adjustment; and the next stage, internationalism, would, he imagined, come about in a similar manner, because by means of it problems could be solved, needs be met, which were found to baffle solution under nationalism. Meanwhile, a thousand points in the history of nationalism called for closer historical investigation.

Prof. Thomas F. Moran, of Perdue University, also regarded nationalism as the product of so many various forces, acting through so many various conflicts, that the transition into a broader nationalism, equivalent to internationalism, was fairly to be expected. Maj. John Bigelow interposed a caution against regarding internationalism as a substitute for nationality; to his mind it was but a transition from nationality to a larger nationality (e. g., the Zollverein), and carried no evidence of progress toward any higher synthesis. Upon the basis of observation of the Balkan nationalities Miss Hester D. Jenkins urged that, in so far as education and propaganda had been the leading factors in creating nationalism, they might well be relied upon to bring internationalism forward, ultimately, into equal or even prevailing power.

An allied theme, the "Growth of nationalism in the British Empire," was the subject of another session, which was held in conjunction with the American Political Science Association. The paper on this topic was read by Prof. George M. Wrong, of Toronto.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Printed in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1916.

He was followed by Mr. A. Maurice Low, Washington correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who first outlined the historic development of British opinion respecting colonies, from that which produced the American war of independence, the notion that colonies existed solely for the benefit of the mother country, down to that which underlies the present British Empire; and then described, with eloquence and force, the impressive proofs afforded by the present war that an empire composed of practically independent nations may through the force of national feeling acquire unexampled solidity, local freedom, and self-government only strengthening the bonds of imperial unity.<sup>1</sup>

Prof. George B. Adams, of Yale, began the discussion of the two papers with remarks which laid their main emphasis on three great landmarks in the simultaneous growth of local independence and imperial unity: First, the turn of feeling and policy which ensued upon the definitions, effected in Gladstone's first ministry, of the relations between the colonies and the home government; secondly, the South African war; and, thirdly, the present war, with the striking response of the over-sea dominions to the Empire's need. Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of Yale, contrasted the inflexible attitude of English statesmen of the eighteenth century, in relation to the colonial régime, with the policy of frank concessions which had produced the affectionate loyalty pervading the present empire. Maj. Bigelow questioned whether the solidarity and strength of that empire had not been exaggerated. Prof. Morse Stephens, in closing the discussion, dwelt upon the part played by poetry and sentiment as foundations of its strength.

Another paper of publicistic character, read in a joint session with one of the sections of the Pan-American Scientific Congress, was that of Hon. Henry White, formerly American Ambassador in Rome and in Paris, on "Diplomacy and politics." It was a plea, based partly on instances in recent history, for a better system of appointment of our diplomatic representatives in foreign countries and for the elimination of party politics from our relations with the other nations of the world.

Of the papers relating distinctively to American history, the earliest in date of theme was that of Mr. William H. Babcock, of Washington, on "Indications of visits of white men to America before Columbus," a paper read before a session held jointly with the congress of Americanists. After reviewing the familiar stories of early Irish and Norse visits to American shores and the evidences as to the island called Brazil, Mr. Babcock, with the aid of many lantern slides from fourteenth century and fifteenth century maps,

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *American Political Science Review*, May, 1916.



set forth his opinion that a Breton expedition at least approached our coast before 1367; that some navigator from the Iberian Peninsula almost certainly coasted along Cuba and a few of its neighbors not later than 1435; and that some other navigator perhaps made the crossing from Cape Verde to South America, as early as 1448.

Dr. Frances G. Davenport, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, upon the basis of long-continued study of the early treaties of European powers relative to America, read a paper on "America and European diplomacy to 1648." The main purpose of the paper was to describe the chief diplomatic arrangements which, in the period named, France, England, and the United Provinces respectively concluded with Portugal and Spain with regard to American trade and territory, of both of which Spain and Portugal claimed a monopoly. In the first period, extending to the treaty of Cateau-Cambr sis in 1559, France was the most formidable opponent of that monopoly. After prolonged negotiations in the years preceding, in which the French claimed access to the Spanish Indies, the treaty named was concluded without mention of the Indies, but with oral agreement, apparently, that Spaniards and Frenchmen encountering one another west of the prime meridian should be free to treat one another as enemies. During the wars of religion in France, and until the Spanish-English treaty of 1604, the lead in efforts to break the monopoly fell to England. In that treaty the provision respecting navigation to the Indies was finally so worded as to be differently interpreted by the two parties, but England could proceed to colonize Virginia. From 1604 to 1648 the chief r le in the contest was sustained by the Dutch. In the 12 years' truce of 1609 the States General secured a concession of the India trade, veiled by circumlocutions. The treaty of 1648 conceded in explicit terms the right to trade and acquire territory in America. The assailants of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly in these three successive periods (Jean Ango and his pilots, Hawkins and Drake, the Dutch West India Co.), each played a similar part, each represented a syndicate of capitalists and had governmental support, and each derived its profits partly from trade and partly from booty.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting paper by Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California, on the "Social revolution of the eighteenth century in South America," endeavored to depict the transition which, from the settled social order established by Spain in the seventeenth century, engendered the new and revolutionary society of the early nineteenth century and through it produced independence and the new republics. Stirrings of a new spirit were discernible in the early years of the eighteenth century. The Creole class of colonial birth had greatly

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in this volume, pp. 153-161.

increased in numbers and intelligence. Spain's rigid system of colonial government, taking no account of the great differences of character among the inhabitants of the several political divisions, caused her Government to become gradually more ineffective and permitted the growth of a Creole-Mestizo party of opposition, and the development in it of community self-consciousness and a certain sense of independence. The French régime under Louis XIV introduced elements of liberality; their suppression after his death, and the restoration of the old rigid and exclusive Spanish system, fortified discontent. The official class, bound by ties of privilege to a reactionary position, became more and more separate from the new society, the latter more and more conscious of the separation. The social revolution, on its spiritual side, became complete; at the turn of the century it proceeded to establish itself in outward fact.<sup>1</sup>

Another historical paper in the Americanist session, valuable in a different sort, but defying brief summary, was that of the Right Rev. Dr. Charles W. Currier, formerly bishop of Matanzas, now bishop of Hetalonia in partibus, on the "Sources of Cuban ecclesiastical history."<sup>2</sup>

The account of the Indians and their culture as described in Swedish and Dutch records from 1614 to 1644, presented to the Americanists by Dr. Amandus Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, was historical in character as well as ethnological, dealing chiefly with the white and black Minquas (Susquehannas and Eries) of Iroquoian stock.

In the field of Revolutionary history there were three papers, one by Dr. David J. Hill, formerly ambassador to Germany, entitled "A Missing Chapter in Franco-American History,"<sup>3</sup> one by Rear-Admiral French E. Chadwick on the operations of Admiral Count de Grasse,<sup>4</sup> and a report by Capt. Hollis C. Clark, United States Army, of his work under the act for collecting military and naval records of the Revolutionary War with a view to their publication.<sup>4</sup> Admiral Chadwick was absent on account of illness, and only a part of his paper was read. This and Capt. Clark's report, and those of Capt. Rees and Prof. Fish, mentioned below, were presented in the joint session held with the Naval History Society.

Dr. Hill's paper dealt with the relations of Franklin to the French constitutionalists. In the flood of French eulogies published at the time of his death in 1790, by far the leading place belongs to those written by the constitutionalists, such as those of Mirabeau and Condorcet. The royalists and democrats surveyed his character and

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the present volume, pp. 165-170.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the American Historical Review, July, 1916.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in this volume, pp. 173-189.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in this volume, pp. 193-199.

career coolly and critically. To the constitutionalists he was the chief political thinker of the age, the discoverer, we may almost say, of the foundations of society. Franklin had in fact been a member, and had been designated as the "Venerable," of the Society of the Nine Sisters, an esoteric school of political thought in France, the first school of constitutionalism on the continent of Europe. This society had a great influence on the constitutionalist movement in France, and on the French Revolution in its first period. Its members played an important part in giving both shape and substance to that earlier phase of the Revolution; and great influence upon it, by means of his association with them in this society, and their regard for him, must be attributed to Franklin.

Admiral Chadwick's narrative, based in part upon the papers of Count de Grasse, which he is editing for the Naval History Society, traced the history of the consultations between Washington and Rochambeau in New England and de Grasse in the West Indies, the voyages of de Grasse and Barras to the Chesapeake, the ill-adjusted movements of Hood and Graves toward a junction, the battle of September 5, 1781, and its happy effects upon the Yorktown campaign. The presence and work of this French fleet gave America her independence. Yet Admiral Chadwick showed easily, from the letters, signals, and movements of both naval commanders, how imperfectly they had grasped their true objective, to give support and bring decisive victory to their respective parties in the land campaign. Graves, in particular, who might have been victorious if he had promptly attacked the van of the French fleet while the remainder was emerging from the capes, was hidebound in adherence to the old fighting instructions; and though Hood criticized his conduct with severity, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that he himself did not do his full duty as a loyal subordinate.

The undertaking of which Capt. Clark had had charge under the War Department, and whose results he described, was provided for in an act of Congress of March 2, 1913, passed mainly through the endeavors of the Society of the Cincinnati. The appropriation made (\$32,000) was a small one for the magnitude of the object. The War Department, the Navy Department, the Library of Congress, and some other governmental institutions in Washington have large masses of military and naval records and correspondence of the period from 1775 to 1783, and the War Department had, some 20 years before, transcribed the principal Revolutionary records of Delaware, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Vermont. Therefore work under the new appropriation was naturally turned toward the archives of other States. With the money in hand it was deemed wise to confine operations to three States—Massachusetts,

Virginia, and North Carolina. At the request of the two departments the American Historical Association appointed an advisory committee, with Maj. Bigelow as chairman, and this committee recommended searchers and drafted instructions. The copying was done by photography, experiment being made of various methods, which the director described in his paper. He also described the experimental campaign of publicity carried on in Virginia, but concluded that the best results in respect to papers in private hands were to be obtained rather by the quiet and patient efforts of well-informed and tactful searchers. The two departments cooperated in the work, the Navy Department appointing its librarian, Mr. Charles W. Stewart, to act on its part, in conjunction with Capt. Clark. In all, 30,522 prints were collected under the appropriation—substantially 20,000 in Massachusetts, 6,000 in Virginia, 4,000 in North Carolina. In no one of the three were these results exhaustive, but Congress has for the present declined to make any further appropriation.

Other papers of a military character were those of Capt. Robert I. Rees, United States Army, on "Bladensburg"; of Prof. Carl R. Fish, on the "Organization of the Wisconsin Volunteers in 1861"; and of Mr. Oswald G. Villard, on the "Submarine and Torpedo in the Blockade of the Confederacy." Capt. Rees described the British expeditionary force and its invasion, the efforts of the American Government to meet it, the difficulties which these efforts encountered because of the loose control which the Federal Government had over State militia, the course of the fighting, the devastation of Washington, and the other results of the battle. He also discussed briefly the causes for the failure of the defense.

Prof. Fish's contribution was a detailed study of the way in which the first Wisconsin troops of the Civil War were actually brought together, equipped, taken care of, drilled, and finally turned over to the National Government. The results were good in the number of men provided, in their quality, and, relatively speaking, in their preparation. This was due to no special excellence of organization, but to the skill and attention of the governor and the spontaneous activity of the localities. The villages provided the companies, the State organized the regiments, the National Government then took them over.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Villard showed how the credit for the first effective use of torpedoes and submarines in naval warfare belongs to the Confederates, blockaded by sea as is the German Empire to-day. By July 22, 1861, floating mines had been found in the Potomac and at Hampton Roads. The feeling against the use of such devices was

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Military Historian and Economist*, I, 258-273.

at first very bitter. A naval torpedo service had been created as early as June 10, and placed in charge of Commander Matthew F. Maury, Confederate States Navy, the distinguished scientist, who in the next June mined the James River after the battle of Seven Pines, then sailed to Europe, to return, too late, with abundant torpedo supplies. It was at best a hastily improvised service, lacking much necessary material and supplying its place by ingenious contrivances of remarkable variety; yet, from first to last, four monitors, three ironclads, nine gunboats, seven transports, and six colliers and tugs fell victims to torpedoes or mines, with loss of many lives, while the deterrent effect of such weapons was of course also extensive. Mr. Villard likewise gave an account of the Confederate use of submarines in the defense of Charleston Harbor.<sup>1</sup>

Of the papers which related to the civil history of the United States, two bore upon themes in economic history—that of Prof. Louis B. Schmidt, of the Iowa State College of Agriculture, on the “Economic history of American agriculture as a field for study,” and that of Dr. Victor S. Clark, of the economic department of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, on the “Influence of manufactures upon political sentiment in the United States from 1820 to 1860.”<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Schmidt rightly declared that the economic history of American agriculture had not received its due share of attention, and that it was essential to any well-balanced view of national progress in a country which from the beginning had consisted mainly of rural communities. Broadly conceived, it should include not only the evolution of agriculture in the different sections and the problems engaging the attention of the rural population in the different periods, but the relation of agriculture to other industries, and, in short, the whole life of the rural population and the influence of our agricultural development on our national existence. After describing more fully the reasons for the study of this portion of American history, Dr. Schmidt stated some of the problems which await the labors of the historian: the history of the public lands; the history of specific leading agricultural industries; the economic history of agriculture by States or given regions; the history of farmers’ organizations, of agricultural labor, of farm machinery; the influence of immigration on the development of agriculture; the transportation of agricultural products; markets and prices; the relation of agriculture to financial legislation; and the like.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Clark began with the organization of the new manufacturing interest as a political force a few years after 1815, and with the

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Harper's Monthly*, June, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1916.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June, 1916.

efforts it made to strengthen the National Government, because the Federal power alone could protect domestic industries. It soon aroused an opposition based ostensibly upon constitutional theories, but, in fact, upon the discordant economic interests of the different parts of the country. These would have been sufficient, without the presence of slavery, to explain the different attitudes of the sections toward public policies, and consequently their different theories of government. For a time manufacturing, in increasing the economic diversity of the country, added to its sectional discord; but, as the most highly cooperative form of production, and the form most dependent upon an efficient government for its prosperity, it ultimately tended to produce closer and firmer political relations within the state. Even before the Civil War the economic purpose of the state was again attaining recognition. The unity and strength of the Government were seen to affect directly the welfare of industrial workers and employers. The growing interdependence of society was manifested in production through the new organization and expansion of manufactures. Political institutions responded to the change by extending their authority and functions.

In an address which could be regarded as a by-product of the thoroughgoing studies he has been making toward his biography of Chief Justice Marshall, Senator Beveridge described the sources he had unearthed for such a life, and especially its earlier portion, and, with extracts and comments, showed how they illuminated his character as a young lawyer, as a statesman, as a lover, and as a friend.<sup>1</sup>

Miss Ida M. Tarbell's paper on the "Education of the American woman in the first half of the nineteenth century" first described those private schools and academies for girls with which the century opened, and adverted to the important influence of Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the rights of woman." She then proceeded to the endeavors of Emma Willard to obtain State support for female education in New York, of Mary Lyon to maintain at Mount Holyoke a privately endowed school of high grade, and of Catherine Beecher in the West; narrated the beginnings of coeducational collegiate instruction at Oberlin and Antioch Colleges, and traced the movement till the time when the high schools of Boston and New York were thrown open to girls.

Finally, a paper by Prof. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, on the "Monroe doctrine as applied to Mexico," took up in turn the three fields in which the doctrine had been applied—those of territory, trade, and government—and showed how it had operated in each to exclude European domination, then to assert the paramount interests of the United States, and finally to subordinate

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<sup>1</sup>Printed, in abbreviated form, in the present volume, pp. 203-205.

those interests to a wider Pan-Americanism. He urged that this last movement should not be allowed to run counter to the new internationalism of our time, or hinder the development and strengthening of its institutions.

The chief feature of the business meeting, which was the largest in the history of the association, was the consideration of the report of the committee of nine. This report and an account of the proceedings of the meeting will be found on subsequent pages of this volume.

**PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN WASHINGTON,  
DECEMBER 27-31, 1915.**

*Monday, December 27.*

1 to 10 p. m.: Registration. Room 1002, Willard Hotel.

3 p. m.: Meetings of the executive council, room 1003, and of committees.

*Tuesday, December 28.*

10 a. m.: Medieval history. Large ballroom, south end. Chairman, Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University. Subject, "Medieval colonization." James Westfall Thompson, University of Chicago, "East German colonization." Howard L. Gray, Bryn Mawr College, "Problems of Anglo-Saxon settlement." Eugene H. Byrne, University of Wisconsin, "The Genoese as colonizers." Constantine E. McGuire, Washington, "Monastic colonization in Spain."

10 a. m.: American history. Large ballroom, north end. Chairman, Thomas W. Page, University of Virginia. Frances G. Davenport, Carnegie Institution of Washington, "America and European diplomacy to 1648." Louis B. Schmidt, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, "The economic history of American agriculture as a field for study." Victor S. Clark, Carnegie Institution of Washington, "The influence of manufactures upon political sentiment in the United States from 1820 to 1860." Frank Weitenkampf, New York Public Library, "Pictorial documents as illustrating American history."

1 p. m.: Subscription luncheon for members of the American Historical Association, center of large ballroom, New Willard Hotel.

3.30 p. m.: The National Archive Building. Continental Hall, Seventeenth and D Streets. General meeting of the societies meeting in Washington, and of sections VI and IX of the Pan-American Scientific Congress, in the interest of a building for the national archives. Organized by a committee of the Historical, Economic, and Political Science Associations, under the auspices of the public archives commission. Chairman, Hon. Miles Poindexter, United States Senator from Washington. Frank W. Taussig, Harvard University, "The value of archives to the student." Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress, "The value of archives to the administration." Benjamin F. Shambaugh, University of Iowa, "Examples of what American States, cities, and business corporations have done for the preservation of their records" (illustrated). Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution of Washington, "Examples of what foreign governments have done for the preservation of their archives" (illustrated). Leo F. Stock, Carnegie Institution of Washington, "Present conditions in the Federal archives" (illustrated). Louis A. Simon, Office of the Supervising Architect,

Treasury Department, Washington, "Architectural studies of the proposed national archive building" (illustrated).

8 p. m.: Presidential addresses. Large ballroom of New Willard. Joint meeting with the American Economic Association. Chairman, Rear Admiral Charles Herbert Stockton, United States Navy, retired, president of George Washington University. Address of welcome. Walter F. Willcox, Cornell University, president of the American Economic Association, "The apportionment of representatives." H. Morse Stephens, University of California, president of the American Historical Association, "Nationality and history."

9.30 p. m.: Smoker for members of the American Historical Association. Cosmos Club.

*Wednesday, December 29.*

10 a. m.: Ancient history. Large ballroom, north end. Chairman, Ephraim Emerton, Harvard University. Subject, "Economic causes of international rivalries and wars in ancient times." Papers: William S. Ferguson, Harvard University; George W. Botsford, Columbia University. Discussion led by James H. Breasted, University of Chicago; Tenney Frank, Bryn Mawr College; Arthur E. R. Boak, University of Michigan; Ralph V. D. Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University.

10 a. m.: Conference of historical societies. Large ballroom, south end. Chairman, Lyon G. Tyler, president of William and Mary College. Secretary, Augustus H. Shearer, Newberry Library, Chicago. Remarks by chairman. Report of the secretary. Subject, "The papers of business houses in historical work." Their collection by historical societies, Milo M. Quaife, Madison, Wis. Their use in research, Ulrich B. Phillips, University of Michigan. Discussion of future activities of the conference.

2 p. m.: Annual business meeting. Small ballroom, tenth floor.

8 p. m.: American history. Small ballroom, tenth floor. Chairman, Ephraim D. Adams, Leland Stanford Junior University. Papers: William I. Hull, Swarthmore College, "The Monroe doctrine as applied to Mexico." Oswald Garrison Villard, New York, "The submarine and torpedo in the blockade of the Confederacy." Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, Indianapolis, "Some sources for the life of John Marshall."

8.30 to 11 p. m.: Reception by the regents and secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in the new building of the National Museum, Tenth and B Streets, NW.

*Thursday, December 30.*

10 a. m.: Modern European history. Large ballroom, center. Chairman, Paul van Dyke, Princeton University. Paper, "Historical aspects of nationalism," James Harvey Robinson, Columbia University." Discussion led by Edward B. Krehbiel, Leland Stanford Junior University; William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania; William T. Laprade, Trinity College, North Carolina; Ellery C. Stowell, Columbia University; Thomas F. Moran, Purdue University.

2 p. m.: Joint session with the International Congress of the Americanists, section I of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Folklore Society. National Museum, Tenth and B Streets, NW. Chairman, George L. Burr, Cornell University. Secretary, Alphonse Gagnon, department of public works and labor, Quebec. Papers: Hon. Bernard Moses, Berkeley, Cal., "The social revolution of the eighteenth century in South America." Prof. Rafael Altamira, professor in the Diplomatic Institute, Madrid, "Notes sur l'histoire de la recopilacion de las



Leyes de Indias." Roscoe R. Hill, University of New Mexico, "The archives of the Indies: History of and suggestions for their exploitation." Paul Brockett, Smithsonian Institution, "Pre-Columbian Americana." Alphonse Gagnon, department of public works and labor, Quebec, Canada, "Le Vinland—sa localisation probable." William H. Babcock, Washington, "Indications of visits of white men to America before Columbus (illustrated). Frederick W. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, "The origin and destruction of a national Indian portrait gallery." Dr. Amandus Johnson, University of Pennsylvania, "The Indians and their culture as described in Swedish and Dutch records from 1614 to 1644." Rt. Rev. Charles W. Currier, bishop of Hetalonia, "Sources of Cuban ecclesiastical history." Philip Barry, "Oracles of the saints." Leon Dominian, American Geographical Society, "Some aspects of the land as a factor in Mexican history."

5 p. m.: Reception to members of the American Historical Association, given by Hon. and Mrs. John W. Foster at their home, No. 1323 Eighteenth Street, NW.

6.30 p. m.: Subscription dinner for the women who are members of the historical, economic, or political science associations, grillroom of the Hotel Powhatan, Pennsylvania Avenue and Eighteenth Street.

8.30 p. m.: Joint session with section VI of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. Large ballroom. Chairman, President Stephens. Greetings from the Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce, honorary member of the American Historical Association. Papers: Hon. Henry White, Washington, "Diplomacy and politics." Ida M. Tarbell, New York, "The education of the American woman in the first half of the nineteenth century." Hon. David Jayne Hill, Washington, "A missing chapter in Franco-American history."

*Friday, December 31.*

10 a. m.: Joint session with the American Political Science Association at Hotel Shoreham. Lounge. Chairman, President Ernst Freund. Subject, "The growth of nationalism in the British Empire." Papers: George M. Wrong, University of Toronto; A. Maurice Low, Washington. Discussion led by George Burton Adams, Yale University; George Louis Beer, New York.

10.30 a. m.: Joint session with the Naval History Society. Interstate Commerce Commission room, mezzanine floor. Chairman, Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University. Papers: Rear Admiral French Ensor Chadwick, United States Navy, retired, "The de Grasse papers." Capt. Robert I. Rees, United States Army, "Bladensburg." Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, "The organization of the Wisconsin Volunteers." Capt. Hollis C. Clark, United States Army, "Report on publication of Revolutionary military records."

2.30 p. m.: Conference of history teachers. Interstate Commerce Commission room, mezzanine floor. Joint session with members of the Association of the History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland and of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Chairman, John Martin Vincent, Johns Hopkins University. Subject: "The definition of historical courses in secondary schools. Whether more precise definition is advisable either for college entrance requirements or for general school courses." Discussion led by James Sullivan, Boys' High School, Brooklyn; Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College; Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University; Margaret McGill, Newton High School, Newtonville, Mass.; Eugene M. Violette, State Normal School, Kirksville, Mo.; Edgar Dawson, Hunter College, New York.

# MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

HELD IN THE SMALL BALLROOM OF THE NEW WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
DECEMBER 29, 1915.

The meeting was called to order at 2.15 p. m., President H. Morse Stephens presiding.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report. The total membership of the association on December 21, 1915, was stated to be 2,926. Thirty new members had been added since that date, making a net gain during the year of 43 members. The total loss during the year was stated as 277 members—32 by death, 168 by resignation, and 177 through being dropped for nonpayment of dues. The total number of new members to date was stated as 320.

It was voted that the report of the secretary be received and placed on file.

The treasurer of the association presented his annual report, which stated the financial condition of the association of December 21, 1915, as follows:

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| Net receipts, 1915.....                    | \$10,728.56      |
| Net disbursements, 1915.....               | 10,457.44        |
| Excess of receipts over disbursements..... | <u>271.12</u>    |
| <b>Assets:</b>                             |                  |
| Bond and mortgage.....                     | 20,000.00        |
| Accrued interest.....                      | 208.07           |
| Bank stock.....                            | 4,200.00         |
| Cash on hand.....                          | 2,654.08         |
| Total assets.....                          | <u>27,062.15</u> |
| Assets at last annual report.....          | 26,797.48        |
| Increase during the year.....              | <u>264.67</u>    |

The report of the audit committee, Messrs. Waldo Lincoln and L. Bradford Prince, certifying that the report of the Audit Co. of America of December 21, 1915, had been examined and found to agree with the report of the treasurer, was read by the treasurer.

It was voted that the reports of the treasurer and of the audit committee be received and placed on file.

Upon motion by Mr. Clarence W. Bowen it was voted that the secretary be instructed to send the following telegram to Mr. Andrew D. White, the first president of the association:

The American Historical Association, at its thirty-first annual meeting, sends to you, its first president, greeting and best wishes for a Happy New Year.

W. G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

Remarks respecting the finances of the association were made by the treasurer, who suggested that a finance committee of the association should be appointed.

Upon motion by Mr. Dunbar Rowland it was voted that a finance committee of three, not members of the executive council, be selected by the association to examine and report on the finances of the association at the next annual meeting.

The report of the secretary of the council was read. Definite recommendations respecting the payment of dues of members and the payment of traveling

expenses of members of the council were presented, and the attention of the association was called to certain council actions, as follows:

1. *Committee assignments.*—It was stated that these assignments were to be found in the minutes of the council meeting of December 27, which had been printed and distributed. In making these assignments it was stated that the council had considered, first, the efficient performance of association work, and, second, the desirability of securing the cooperation and interest of scholars in various sections of the country and of the younger as well as of the older men.

2. *Budget.*—The estimate of expenditures, it was stated, was printed in the council minutes of December 27. Especial attention was called to the fact that the work of preparing a cumulative index to the papers and reports would be completed before long, thus releasing for other purposes the amounts now devoted to that object. Attention was also called to the exceptional item of \$225 for paying expenses of travel incurred by the committee of nine and for printing the report of that committee.

3. *The American Historical Review.*—Attention was called to the vote of the council of November 27, in which the council expressed "its full confidence in the efficient and unselfish manner in which the board of editors have conducted the affairs of the Review since its foundation."

4. *Committee expenses.*—The following votes adopted by the council at its meeting on December 28 were reported for the information of the association:

(a) The treasurer is instructed to rule that payments to members of the association for traveling expenses incurred in attending meetings of committees shall, unless otherwise ordered by the council, cover transportation and Pullman fares only.

(b) The treasurer is authorized to pay no traveling expenses of any member, board, or committee on account of meetings of such boards and committees held at the time and place of the annual meeting of the association.

5. *Finance committee.*—It was also stated that the council had created a standing committee on finance, consisting of the secretaries of the association and the council, the treasurer, and two other members of the council.

It was voted that the report of the secretary of the council be received and placed on file.

The recommendation of the council respecting the payment of annual dues was read a second time, and it was explained that the proposed rule was intended to serve as a substitute for the rule adopted at the last meeting of the association.

It was voted as follows:

The January and subsequent issues of the Review will not be sent to members until their current dues are paid. Members whose dues remain unpaid after June 1 will not be carried upon the roll of the association, but they may be reinstated at any time thereafter upon payment of the dues then current.

The recommendation of the council respecting traveling expenses of members of the council was read a second time.

It was voted as follows:

In view of the present financial condition of the association, payments for traveling expenses, authorized by vote of the association on December 29, 1902, are limited for the present to transportation and Pullman fares.

A written report for the Pacific Coast Branch was presented by Mr. Ephraim D. Adams, the delegate of the branch.

It was voted that the report be accepted and placed on file.

In the absence of the chairman of the historical manuscripts commission, an informal statement was made by the secretary of the association.

A written report was presented by the chairman of the public archives commission, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits.

It was voted that it be accepted and placed on file.

A written report was presented by the chairman of the committee on publications, Mr. Max Farrand.

It was voted that it be accepted and placed on file.

In the absence of the chairman of the general committee, an informal report was made by Mr. Arthur I. Andrews, senior member of the committee.

No report was presented for the committee on bibliography.

An informal report of the committee on history in schools was presented by the chairman of the committee, Mr. William S. Ferguson.

An informal but detailed report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review was presented by the chairman of the board, Mr. Edward P. Cheyney. At the close of Mr. Cheyney's report an additional statement was made by Mr. J. Franklin Jameson, managing editor of the Review.

Upon motion of Mr. C. H. Van Tyne, the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the attacks made during the last year upon the character and motives of certain prominent and honored members of this association meet with our entire disapproval, and that we hereby express our full confidence in the men whose motives and conduct have been thus impugned.

A written report for the advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine was presented by Mr. Henry Johnson, the chairman of the board.

It was voted that it be accepted and placed on file.

In the absence of the chairman of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, the report of the committee was presented by Mr. Sidney B. Fay, who stated that five essays, all of high quality, had been offered in competition for the Adams prize, and that the committee had unanimously voted to make honorable mention of an essay entitled "Napoleon's system of licensed navigation, 1806-1814," submitted by Mr. Frank E. Melvin, and to award the Adams prize for 1915 to Mr. Theodore C. Pease for his essay entitled "The Leveller movement."

For the committee on the military history prize, Capt. Arthur L. Conger, United States Army, its chairman, reported that four essays had been submitted to the committee, but that none of them was considered to be of the requisite standard of excellence. The committee therefore recommended that the military history prize be not awarded.

It was voted to approve the committee's recommendation.

The report of the committee of nine on the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association and the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review was presented by the acting chairman of the committee, Mr. William A. Dunning, who asked that inasmuch as the report had been printed and distributed it be considered as read.

The president asked what was the wish of the association respecting the constitutional amendments proposed by the committee of nine.

Upon motion by Mr. George L. Fox it was voted that in accordance with Article VI of the constitution notice be, and hereby is, given that at the next annual meeting of the association the constitutional amendments recommended by the committee of nine in its printed report will be laid before the association for action thereon, viz:

1. For Article IV substitute the following:

IV. The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

2. For Article V substitute the following:

V. There shall be an executive council constituted as follows:

(1) The officers named in Article IV.

(2) Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.

(3) The former presidents; but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

3. Adopt a new article, numbered VI, as follows:

VI. The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

4. Renumber Article VI of the present constitution Article VII.

It was moved by Mr. Dunbar Rowland and seconded that the by-laws recommended by the committee of nine be referred to the next annual meeting for action thereon.

It was moved by Mr. A. Howard Clark and seconded that Mr. Rowland's motion be laid upon the table.

Upon being put to vote the motion to lay upon the table was lost.

It was moved and seconded as a substitute for Mr. Rowland's motion that all the recommendations of the committee of nine, including those relating to the by-laws, but exclusive of those respecting amendments to the constitution, be adopted.

Remarks were made by Messrs. C. W. Bowen, G. L. Fox, and W. A. Dunning.

Upon being put to vote the substitute motion was lost.

Mr. Rowland's motion was then voted as follows:

That the by-laws recommended by the committee of nine in its present report be, and hereby are, referred to the next annual meeting of the association for action thereon, viz:

1. The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attaching to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

2. A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 1st of October as it may determine, it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least 20 days prior to the annual meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual meeting an official ballot containing as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the association at least five days before the annual meeting. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

3. The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in by-law 2.

4. The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

It was moved by Mr. Dunbar Rowland, and seconded, that the four recommendations as to procedure contained in the printed report of the committee of nine be adopted.

Mr. Evarts B. Greene asked and obtained consent that the first and second recommendations be voted on together, and that the third and fourth be voted on separately.

It was therefore voted to adopt the following recommendations of the committee of nine:

First. That to the business meeting, including the election, there should be given a full half day, as in this year's program.

Second. That, as was done at Chicago, the minutes of the council should be printed and distributed at or before the business meeting.

It was then voted to adopt the third recommendation of the committee of nine, as follows:

Third. That written reports from standing committees and commissions, showing in full the work accomplished, and in detail the expense incurred, should be made in writing to the council at least two weeks before the annual meeting; should be held by the secretary of the association at his office, and at the place of the annual meeting, during its continuance subject to inspection by any member; and should be read in the business meeting by title only unless the reading of the full report be called for by 10 members present, or directed by the council.

It was then voted to adopt the fourth recommendation of the committee of nine, as follows:

Fourth. That, on the other hand, new activities and all matters in which there is reason to suppose that the association takes a special interest, should be somewhat fully presented by the council at the business meeting. The purpose of these recommendations is, on the one hand, to give members an opportunity of keeping acquainted with the work of the association, its council, and committees, and, on the other, to free the business meetings of unnecessary detail.

Mr. W. A. Dunning called attention to the recommendations of the committee of nine with respect to the American Historical Review and moved the adoption of the first resolution proposed by the committee, viz.:

*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of the association that full ownership and control of the American Historical Review should be vested in the association.

The motion being seconded there were remarks by Messrs. Dunbar Rowland, J. H. Latané, C. W. Bowen, W. A. Dunning, G. B. Adams, C. R. Fish, C. B. Coleman, and J. F. Jameson

Mr. C. W. Bowen moved, and it was seconded, as a substitute for Mr. Dunning's motion, that the two resolutions respecting the American Historical Review, proposed by the committee of nine, be referred for action to the next annual meeting of the association.

After remarks by Messrs. J. H. Latané, V. H. Paltsits, S. J. Buck, and W. G. Leland, Mr. Bowen's substitute motion was put to vote and declared to be lost.

Mr. Bernard C. Steiner moved that the resolution moved by Mr. Dunning be amended by the addition of the following words: "But that the present connection of the said Review with the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and with the Macmillan Co., publishers, be continued."

The amendment was seconded, and after remarks by Messrs. Harry P. Judson and W. A. Dunning, was voted.

After remarks by Mr. C. W. Bowen, the amended resolution was adopted, as follows:

*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of the association that full ownership and control of the American Historical Review should be vested in the association, but that the present connection of the said Review with the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and with the Macmillan Co., publishers, be continued.

Mr. W. A. Dunning moved, and it was seconded, that the second resolution proposed by the committee of nine, respecting the American Historical Review, be adopted, viz:

*Resolved*, That the president, the first vice president, secretary of the council, the secretary of the association, and the treasurer be instructed to make such arrangements as may be necessary to that end and be authorized to enter into such arrangements and agreements as may be requisite for the publication and management of the Review until final action is taken by the council.

Mr. Solon J. Buck moved that Mr. Dunning's resolution be amended by striking out all after the word "instructed" and substituting therefor the words "to ascertain what arrangements can be made to effect that end and report at the next annual meeting of the association."

The amendment being seconded and voted, Mr. Dunning's resolution, as amended, was adopted as follows:

*Resolved*, That the president, the first vice president, the secretary of the council, the secretary of the association, and the treasurer be instructed to ascertain what arrangements can be made to effect that end and report at the next annual meeting of the association.

Mr. Dunning having asked that the committee of nine be discharged, Mr. Dunbar Rowland moved and it was voted that the committee of nine be discharged, with the thanks of the association for its efficient labors.

Mr. Charles H. McIlwain, chairman of the committee on nominations, stated that a preliminary and a final report had been printed by the committee and distributed. He explained that Mr. Edward P. Cheyney, nominated by the committee in its preliminary report for second vice president, had caused his name to be withdrawn, and that the committee had in his place nominated Mr. William R. Thayer.

He then presented the following nominations by the committee: For president, George L. Burr; for first vice president, Worthington C. Ford; for second vice president, William Roscoe Thayer; for secretary, Waldo G. Leland; for treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen; for curator, A. Howard Clark; for secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene. For members of the council, Frederic Bancroft, Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Phillips, and Lucy M. Salmon.

He further presented the name of Samuel B. Harding, nominated by petition, for member of the council.

Mr. J. H. Latané stated that he was authorized to withdraw the name of Mr. Frederic Bancroft as a candidate for election to the council.

Nominations from the floor were called for, but none being made, the nominations were declared closed.

It was moved and voted without dissent that the secretary be instructed by unanimous consent to cast the ballot of the association for the names presented in the final report of the committee, with the omission of Mr. Bancroft's.

This was done, and the following officers were declared duly elected:

*President*—George L. Burr.

*First vice president*—Worthington C. Ford.

*Second vice president*—William Roscoe Thayer.

*Secretary*—Waldo G. Leland.

*Treasurer*—Clarence W. Bowen.

*Curator*—A. Howard Clark.

*Secretary of the council*—Evarts B. Greene.

*Members of the council*—Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Phillips, Lucy M. Salmon, and Samuel B. Harding.

Upon motion by Mr. J. F. Jameson it was voted that the procedure as to nominations which had been adopted for the year 1915 at the last annual meeting of the association be followed for the year 1916.

It was moved and seconded that the committee on nominations of 1915 be continued for the year 1916.

Upon the refusal of Mr. C. H. McIlwain, chairman of the committee on nominations, to serve another year, it was moved and voted that the motion be amended so as to name Mr. Frank M. Anderson chairman of the committee in place of Mr. C. H. McIlwain.

The motion as amended was then voted, and the committee on nominations for 1916 was declared to be constituted as follows: Frank M. Anderson (chairman), Lois K. Mathews, Edmond S. Meany, Charles H. Rammelkamp, Alfred H. Stone.

Nominations were called for the three members of the committee on finance, which the association had voted to establish.

Messrs. Cheesman A. Herrick, Arthur C. Howland, and Howard L. Gray were nominated from the floor.

It was moved and voted that the nominations be closed and that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the association for the three gentlemen thus nominated. This was done, and Messrs. Herrick, Howland, and Gray were declared duly elected to constitute the committee on finance.

The meeting adjourned at 6.30.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary*.

#### REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

##### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The total membership of the association on December 21 was 2,926. Since that date 30 new members have been added, making a total at the present moment of 2,956. There has been during the year a net gain of 43 members, which compares favorably with the net gain of previous years. During the last year there has been a total loss of 277 members—32 by death, 168 by resignation, and 177 through being dropped for nonpayment of dues. Among the members who have died during the year is Charles Francis Adams, an ex-president of this association, and long closely associated with all its activities. His stirring personality, his keen and vigorous intellect, the interest which he took in all matters historical, made him one of the most notable figures in our association and one which we shall long miss. Another of our members, Mr. Lothrop Withington, a well-known genealogist and indefatigable investigator into the English origins of American families, was lost when the *Lusitania* was destroyed.

During the year 320 new members have been added to the association, the largest number of new members in several years. More detailed statistics in regard to membership, especially in regard to the geographical distribution of our members, will be presented by the general committee.

During the past year the association has been represented by Prof. W. K. Boyd at the inauguration of the president of the University of North Carolina; by Profs. Edward P. Cheyney, John M. Vincent, and Henry R. Shipman at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; by Prof. Charles H. Haskins at the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Alleghany College; and by Prof. Bernard Moses and Prof. Archibald C. Coolidge in the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress.

During the past year the annual report for 1913 in two volumes has been published by the secretary's office, as well as the Herbert Adams prize essay which was designated in 1913, this being Miss Barbour's life of the Earl of Arlington. A more detailed statement respecting publications will be made by the appropriate committee.



The work of the secretary's office has greatly increased during the past year. This is due in part to the fact that the clerical work of certain committees has been largely performed by the force of the office; still more to the fact that there have been received inquiries which have required extensive investigations among the records of the association. In this connection the secretary wishes to state that he has never withheld from any member of the association information respecting matters of record. He has understood, and understands it to be the policy of the association to furnish its members with such information as they may ask for, provided it relates to matters of record. Inquiries of this sort have been in the past and will be in the future responded to as promptly as is possible, without detriment to the regular work of the office.

The records of the association from its organization to the present time are in process of being arranged and filed. The early records of the association had accumulated at the Smithsonian Institution, where, although in no danger, they were in considerable confusion. They have been brought up to the secretary's office, where they are now being placed in file boxes, and it is expected that by the end of another year the association will have its own model archive, if not an archive building.

A certain centralization of purchasing, especially as regards stationery and supplies for the use of various committees, has been effected. This has resulted in some economy and in the standardization of the stationery of the association.

An addressing machine has been purchased during the year which enables the work of the office to be carried on much more expeditiously and economically than has been possible in the past.

The secretary wishes to take this occasion to express the obligation of the association to the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution for the use of offices and telephone during the year.

The secretary has been asked to call the attention of the association to two international congresses to be held in the near future—one in Buenos Aires in 1916 and another in Rio Janeiro in 1922. Printed notices of these congresses have appeared or will shortly appear in the *American Historical Review*.

The registration at the present meeting stands now at 403. The largest attendance was at the meeting in New York in 1909, the next largest at Boston in 1912. The present meeting, therefore, stands third in point of view of attendance among the meetings of the association.<sup>1</sup>

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary*.

#### REPORT OF TREASURER.

Balance on hand December 23, 1914----- \$2,382.96  
Receipts to date:

##### Annual dues—

|       |                |            |
|-------|----------------|------------|
| 2,717 | at \$3.00----- | \$8,151.00 |
| 1     | at .75-----    | .75        |
| 1     | at 2.00-----   | 2.00       |
| 1     | at 2.88-----   | 2.88       |
| 8     | at 3.05-----   | 24.40      |
| 1     | at 3.08-----   | 3.08       |
| 11    | at 3.10-----   | 34.10      |
| 2     | at 3.15-----   | 6.30       |
| 1     | at 3.17-----   | 3.17       |
| 1     | at 3.20-----   | 3.20       |
| 1     | at 3.25-----   | 3.25       |

8,234.13

<sup>1</sup> The final registration was 465, making the Washington meeting second in attendance.

## Receipts to date—Continued.

|   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| Dividend on bank stock.....   | \$200.00          |
| Interest on bond and mortgage.....  | 900.00            |
| Loan, C. W. Bowen.....  | 625.00            |
| Publications—   |                   |
| Prize essays.....   | \$438.84          |
| Papers and reports.....   | 61.65             |
| Writings on American history.....   | 87.20             |
| Church history papers.....  | 10.00             |
| Royalties.....  | 274.69            |
|   | <hr/> 872.38      |
| Miscellaneous—  |                   |
| Sales of old copies of American Historical Review.....  | 10.55             |
| Refund by members of council for luncheon at Metropolitan Club November, 1914.....                                      | 77.00             |
| From Association of History Teachers of Middle States and Maryland for circular of committee on history in schools..... | 5.50              |
| Lists of members of American Historical Association.....  | 29.00             |
|   | <hr/> 122.05      |
| From board of editors of the American Historical Review.....  | 400.00            |
|   | <hr/> \$11,353.56 |
|   | 13,736.52         |
| Disbursements to date.....  | <hr/> 11,082.44   |
| Balance on hand Dec. 21, 1915.....  | <hr/> 2,654.08    |

## DISBURSEMENTS.

*Expenses of administration.*

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Secretary and treasurer, vouchers 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 20, 21, 23, 24, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 58, 67, 68, 73, 74, 77, 90, 91, 92, 100, 101, 103, 107, 109, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 159, 162, 164, 165, 166, 168, 175, 180, 182, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193.....  | \$2,080.91 |
| Itemized as follows: Salary of assistant; additional assistance and services of all kinds; postage, telegrams, messenger, express, money orders; stationery and supplies; printing and duplicating; furnishings—filing cases, addressing machine; miscellaneous.   |            |
| Secretary of the council, vouchers 11, 12, 27, 28, 56, 61, 64, 146, 176...<br>Itemized as follows: Clerical services, postage and telegrams, printing, and stationery.   | 68.52      |
| Executive council, vouchers 17, 161, 172, 177, 178, 179, 184, 185.....<br>Itemized as follows: Expenses incurred in travel to attend meeting of council Nov. 28, 1914, D. C. Munro (voucher 17); expense incurred in travel to attend meeting of council Nov. 27, 1915, W. G. Leland (voucher 161), A. Howard Clark (voucher 172), Evarts B. Greene (voucher 177), Guy Stanton Ford (voucher 178), Charles H. Haskins (voucher 179), Ulrich B. Phillips (voucher 184), E. C. Barker (voucher 185). | 352.51     |
| Miscellaneous, vouchers 18, 41, 70, 81, 121, 124, 149, 186, 187.....<br>Itemized as follows: Auditing treasurer's report (voucher 18), printing (voucher 41), flowers for funeral of C. F. Adams, and messenger service (voucher 70), refund of dues overpaid (voucher 81), payment of loan (voucher 121); expenses of committee on nominations—services, printing, stationery.  | 776.60     |
| Collection charges, vouchers 22, 63, 104, 106, 144, 188.....   | 14.30      |
| London headquarters, voucher 136.....  | 100.00     |

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Pacific coast branch, voucher 43-----  | \$72. 24    |
| Itemized as follows: General postage account; membership in Pacific Association of Scientific Societies; membership campaign—preparation of lists, postage, and printing; special meeting at Seattle—postage, printing, and incidental expenses; annual meeting at San Francisco—postage, printing, telephone, services. |             |
| <i>Annual meetings.</i>  |             |
| Expenses of thirtieth annual meeting, vouchers 8, 9, 26, 42-----   | 46. 40      |
| Itemized as follows: Printing and duplicating.   |             |
| Expenses of thirty-first annual meeting, vouchers 57, 78, 93, 148, 153, 158, 163, 169, 167, 173, 183-----  | 266. 21     |
| Itemized as follows: Committee on program—services, stationery, printing, postage; committee on local arrangements—postage, printing, and stationery.  |             |
| Conference of historical societies, vouchers 13, 14, 15, 82, 181-----  | 43. 52      |
| Itemized as follows: Services, postage, printing, and stationery.  |             |
| <i>Publications.</i>   |             |
| Committee on publications, vouchers 10, 25, 65, 75, 76, 83, 95, 96, 119, 122, 125, 147-----  | 852. 13     |
| Itemized as follows: Printing and binding; mailing, wrapping, and postage; storage and insurance; expended for copies of annual report and American Historical Review.   |             |
| Editorial services, vouchers 2, 32, 47, 66, 72, 89, 102, 108, 113, 128, 138, 160-----  | 300. 00     |
| Committee on indexing papers and reports, voucher 87-----  | 500. 00     |
| American Historical Review, vouchers 29, 44, 60, 84, 85, 86, 105, 112, 123, 134, 151, 152, 170, 171-----   | 4, 403. 20  |
| <i>Standing committees.</i>  |             |
| Public archives commission, vouchers 16, 45, 59, 88, 126, 155, 156, 174-----   | 150. 00     |
| Itemized as follows: Services; postage and stationery; preparation of report on Minnesota archives; preparation of report on Vermont archives; expenses in preparing for national archives meeting, Dec. 28, 1915.   |             |
| Historical manuscripts commission, vouchers 19, 31, 51, 71, 79, 80, 97, 98, 99-----  | 57. 65      |
| Itemized as follows: Publication of Bayard letters—rental of typewriter, photographic copies of documents, typewritten copies of documents, preparation of frontispiece, proof reading; Hunter papers—typewritten copies of documents.   |             |
| General committee, voucher 54-----   | 15. 64      |
| Itemized as follows: Stationery.   |             |
| Committee on bibliography, vouchers 55, 62-----  | 56. 26      |
| Itemized as follows: Services, stationery.   |             |
| Committee on history in schools, vouchers 94, 145, 154, 157-----   | 112. 63     |
| Itemized as follows: Services, postage, stationery, printing.  |             |
| <i>Prizes and subventions.</i>   |             |
| Justin Winsor prize, voucher 30-----   | 13. 72      |
| Itemized as follows: Services, printing and stationery, postage and express.   |             |
| Herbert Baxter Adams prize, voucher 69-----  | 200. 00     |
| Itemized as follows: Amount of prize.  |             |
| Writings on American history, voucher 133-----   | 200. 00     |
| Itemized as follows: Appropriation for 1915.   |             |
| History Teacher's Magazine, vouchers 127, 150-----   | 400. 00     |
| Itemized as follows: Appropriation for 1915.   |             |
| Total-----   | 11, 082. 44 |
| Net receipts, 1915-----  | 10, 728. 56 |
| Net disbursements, 1915-----   | 10, 457. 44 |
| Excess of receipts over disbursements-----   | 271. 12     |

The assets of the association are:

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street,<br>New York, N. Y.----- | \$20,000.00 |
| Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29 to Dec. 21, 1915-----                                | 208.07      |
| Twenty shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at \$210-----                           | 4,200.00    |
| Cash on hand-----  | 2,654.08    |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Assets at last annual report-----  | 27,062.15   |
| An increase during the year of-----  | 26,797.48   |
|  | 284.67      |

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

WASHINGTON, December 21, 1915.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AUDIT.

We hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Audit Co. of America, dated December 24, 1915, and find that the same agrees with the report of the treasurer of the American Historical Association herewith submitted.

WALDO LINCOLN,  
L. BRADFORD PRINCE,  
*Committee on Audit.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 28, 1915.

#### THE AUDIT CO. OF AMERICA.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Esq.,  
*Treasurer of American Historical Association,*  
*5 East Sixty-third Street, New York City.*

SIR: In accordance with your request, we have examined the books and records of your association from December 23, 1914, to December 21, 1915, in so far as they relate to your cash receipts and disbursements and the assets on hand, for the purpose of determining the accuracy or inaccuracy of the transactions for the period under review.

The result of our examination is set forth in the following exhibits:

*Exhibit A.*—Comparative statement of financial condition, December 23, 1914, and December 21, 1915.

*Exhibit B.*—Statement of income and expenditures from December 23, 1914, to December 21, 1915.

*Exhibit C.*—Statement of cash receipts and disbursements from December 23, 1914, to December 21, 1915.

*Commentary.*—The cash receipts were verified with the cash book and were found to have been deposited in the bank. The cash disbursements were all verified with the checks and vouchers. The balance on deposit in the National Park Bank was reconciled with the check book and the balance acknowledged by the auditor of the bank.

The mortgage on the property located at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City, in favor of the American Historical Association, bonds, property, deeds, and extension agreement, were found to be on deposit with the Union Trust Co. of New York, Fifth Avenue and Sixtieth Street, and were examined.

Two stock certificates of the American Exchange National Bank, representing 20 shares, were also on deposit with the Union Trust Co. and were shown to us.

Attention is called to the fact that the value of publications on hand, supplies, furniture, fixtures, etc., are not included in your assets. The value of these, consequently, will increase the net worth of the association shown in exhibit A.

All of the books and records submitted for our examination were found to be complete and in excellent order. Every courtesy was extended our examiners during the course of the examination.

We hereby certify that the cash receipts and disbursements shown in exhibit C represent a correct accounting of all moneys received and expended for the period, according to the records examined, and that vouchers and checks have been shown to us for all of said expenditures.

Respectfully submitted,

THE AUDIT CO. OF AMERICA,

H. A. CUNNINGHAM,

General Manager.

New York, December 24, 1915.

EXHIBIT A.—Comparative statement of financial condition.

| Assets.  | Dec. 21,<br>1915. | Dec. 23,<br>1914. | Increase or<br>decrease. |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Bond and mortgage on real estate 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York.....    | \$20,000.00       | \$20,000.00       | -----                    |
| Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29.....                                   | 208.07            | 214.52            | -\$6.45                  |
| Bank stock, 20 shares American Exchange National Bank, at \$210 per share..... | 4,200.00          | 4,200.00          | -----                    |
| Cash in bank, National Park Bank.....  | 2,654.08          | 2,382.96          | 271.12                   |
| Total assets.....  | 27,062.15         | 26,797.48         | 264.67                   |

EXHIBIT B.—Statement of income and expenditures, Dec. 25, 1914, to Dec. 21, 1915.

Income:

Dues..... \$8,234.13

Investments—

Interest on mortgage, \$20,000, at 4½

per cent..... \$893.55

Dividend, 10 per cent, 10 shares American Exchange National Bank..... 200.00

1,093.55

Publications.....

872.38

Board of editors, American Historical Review.....

400.00

Miscellaneous.....

122.05

Total income.....

\$10,722.11

Expenditures:

Offices of secretary and treasurer—

Salaries and services..... 1,295.49

Expenses..... 785.42

2,080.91

Secretary of the council—

Services..... 25.00

Expenses..... 43.52

68.52

Executive council.....

352.51

Miscellaneous expenses.....

165.90

London headquarters.....

100.00

Pacific coast branch.....

72.24

Annual meetings—

Services..... 49.10

Expenses..... 307.03

356.13

Publications.....

1,652.13

American Historical Review.....

4,403.20

## Expenditures—Continued.

## Standing committees—

|  |           |           |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Public archives commission.....        | \$150. 00 |           |
| Historical manuscripts commission..... | 57. 65    |           |
| General committee.....                 | 15. 64    |           |
| Committee on bibliography.....         | 56. 26    |           |
| Committee on history in schools.....   | 112. 63   |           |
|  |           | \$392. 18 |

## Prizes and subventions—

|   |         |         |
|---|---------|---------|
| Justin Winsor prize committee.....        | 13. 72  |         |
| Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee..... | 200. 00 |         |
| Writings on American history.....         | 200. 00 |         |
| History Teacher's Magazine.....           | 400. 00 |         |
|   |         | 813. 72 |

Total expenditures..... \$10, 457. 44

Net income..... 264. 67

EXHIBIT C.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements from Dec. 23, 1914, to Dec. 21, 1915.*

Balance on hand Dec. 23, 1914..... \$2, 382. 96

## Receipts—

## Annual dues—

|                    |              |              |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 2,717, at \$3..... | \$8, 151. 00 |              |
| 1, at \$0.75.....  | . 75         |              |
| 1, at \$2.....     | 2. 00        |              |
| 1, at \$2.88.....  | 2. 88        |              |
| 8, at \$3.05.....  | 24. 40       |              |
| 1, at \$3.08.....  | 3. 08        |              |
| 11, at \$3.10..... | 34. 10       |              |
| 2, at \$3.15.....  | 6. 30        |              |
| 1, at \$3.17.....  | 3. 17        |              |
| 1, at \$3.20.....  | 3. 20        |              |
| 1, at \$3.25.....  | 3. 25        |              |
|                    |              | \$8, 234. 13 |

Dividend on bank stock..... 200. 00

Interest on bond and mortgage..... 900. 00

Loan, C. W. Bowen..... 625. 00

## Publications—

|                                   |         |         |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Prize essays.....                 | 438. 84 |         |
| Papers and reports.....           | 61. 65  |         |
| Writings on American history..... | 87. 20  |         |
| Church history papers.....        | 10. 00  |         |
| Royalties.....                    | 274. 69 |         |
|                                   |         | 872. 38 |

## Miscellaneous—

|   |        |         |
|---|--------|---------|
| Sales of old copies of American Historical Review.....  | 10. 55 |         |
| Refund by members of council for luncheon at Metropolitan Club, November, 1914.....                                     | 77. 00 |         |
| From Association of History Teachers of Middle States and Maryland for circular of committee on history in schools..... | 5. 50  |         |
| Lists of members of American Historical Association.....  | 29. 00 |         |
|   |        | 122. 05 |

From board of editors of the American Historical Review..... 400. 00

11, 353. 56

Total..... 13, 736. 52

## Disbursements:

## Expenses of administration—

|  |           |              |
|--|-----------|--------------|
| Salary of assistant-----   | \$840. 00 |              |
| Additional assistance and services<br>of all kinds -----                 | 455. 49   | \$1, 295. 49 |
| Postage, telegrams, etc-----   | 322. 37   |              |
| Stationery and supplies-----   | 139. 13   |              |
| Printing and duplicating-----  | 138. 20   |              |
| Furnishings: Filing cases, \$13.30;<br>addressing machine, \$167.92----- | 181. 22   |              |
| Miscellaneous -----  | 4. 50     |              |
|  | 785. 42   |              |

\$2, 080. 91

## Secretary of the council—

|                              |        |  |
|------------------------------|--------|--|
| Clerical services-----       | 25. 00 |  |
| Postage and telegrams-----   | 14. 25 |  |
| Printing and stationery----- | 29. 27 |  |

68. 52

## Executive council—

|   |          |  |
|---|----------|--|
| Expense incurred in travel to attend meeting<br>of the council. Nov. 28, 1914, D. C. Munro----- | 54. 20   |  |
| Expense incurred in travel to at-<br>tend meeting of the council,<br>Nov. 27, 1915—             |          |  |
| W. G. Leland -----  | \$10. 50 |  |
| A. Howard Clark-----  | 11. 25   |  |
| Guy S. Ford-----  | 71. 30   |  |
| Charles H. Haskins-----   | 12. 75   |  |
| Evarts B. Greene-----   | 52. 21   |  |
| Ulrich B. Phillips-----   | 36. 90   |  |
| E. C. Barker -----  | 103. 40  |  |
|   | 298. 31  |  |

352. 51

## Miscellaneous expenses—

|   |          |  |
|---|----------|--|
| Auditing treasurer's report-----                                | 25. 00   |  |
| Flowers, funeral of C. F. Adams, and messenger<br>service ----- | 11. 00   |  |
| Refund of dues overpaid-----                                    | 6. 00    |  |
| Printing -----  | 23. 00   |  |
| Expenses of Committee on Nominations—                           |          |  |
| Services -----  | \$62. 25 |  |
| Printing -----  | 22. 50   |  |
| Stationery -----  | 1. 85    |  |
|   | 86. 60   |  |

151. 60

## London headquarters -----

100. 00

## Collection charges -----

14. 30

## Pacific coast branch—

|   |        |  |
|---|--------|--|
| General postage account-----  | 1. 37  |  |
| Membership in Pacific Association of Scientific<br>Societies -----  | 5. 00  |  |
| Membership campaign, lists, postage, and<br>printing -----          | 15. 03 |  |
| Special meeting at Seattle, postage, printing,<br>incidentals ----- | 28. 70 |  |
| Annual meeting at San Francisco, postage, print-<br>ing, etc -----  | 22. 14 |  |

72. 24

## Annual meetings—

|   |           |  |
|---|-----------|--|
| Thirtieth annual meeting, printing and duplicating----- | 46. 40    |  |
| Thirty-first annual meeting—                            |           |  |
| Program committee-----                                  | \$253. 71 |  |
| Committee on local arrangements-----                    | 7. 50     |  |

266. 21

## Conference of historical societies-----

43. 52

|   |           |             |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| Disbursements—  |           |             |
| Publications—   |           |             |
| Committee on publications—  |           |             |
| Printing and binding-----   | \$690. 95 |             |
| Mailing, wrapping, and postage-----                               | 81. 65    |             |
| Storage, insurance, etc-----                                      | 79. 53    |             |
|   |           | \$852. 13   |
| Editorial services-----   |           | 300. 00     |
| Committee on indexing papers and reports-----                     |           | 500. 00     |
| American Historical Review-----                                   |           | 4, 403. 20  |
| Standing committees—  |           |             |
| Public archives commission-----                                   |           | 150. 00     |
| Historical manuscripts commission—                                |           |             |
| Publication of Bayard letters-----                                | \$57. 05  |             |
| Hunter papers-----  | . 60      |             |
|   |           | 57. 65      |
| General committee, stationery-----                                |           | 15. 64      |
| Committee on bibliography, services and stationery-----           |           | 56. 26      |
| Committee on history in schools, services, postage, printing----- |           | 112. 63     |
| Prizes and subventions—   |           |             |
| Justin Winsor prize committee, services, postage, etc-----        |           | 13. 72      |
| Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee, amount of prize---          |           | 200. 00     |
| Writings on American history, appropriation for 1915-----         |           | 200. 00     |
| History Teacher's Magazine, appropriation for 1915-----           |           | 400. 00     |
| Repayment of loan, C. W. Bowen-----                               |           | 625. 00     |
| Total -----   |           | 11, 082. 44 |
| Balance on hand Dec. 21, 1915-----                                |           | 2, 654. 08  |

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL.

The council has held this year the usual November meeting in New York and two meetings in Washington in connection with the present annual meeting of the association. The minutes for November 27 and December 27 have been printed for distribution to members of the association at this meeting, in accordance with the practice inaugurated last year. The third meeting of the council was held on the afternoon of December 28, too late for the printing of the minutes in view of the pressure of other business.

In view of this printing of the minutes it is possible in this report to concentrate attention, first, on matters recommended by the council for action on the part of the association; and, secondly, on certain other council action in which it is thought that members of the association are likely to be especially interested and on which some explanatory statement seems desirable.

*I. Collection of membership dues.*

At the annual meeting of the association held in Chicago December 29, 1914, the following rule respecting payment of membership dues was adopted:

The annual dues for the ensuing 12 months are payable on September 1. Publications will not be sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after October 15. Members whose dues remain unpaid on March 1 shall be dropped from the rolls of the association.

Some difficulties of interpretation and administration having developed in the office of the secretary and treasurer, the council recommends the following restatement of the rule:

The January and subsequent issues of the Review will not be sent to members until their current dues are paid. Members whose dues remain unpaid after June 1 will not be carried upon the roll of the association, but they may be reinstated at any time thereafter upon payment of the dues then current.



*II. Traveling expenses of the council.*

The policy of paying the traveling expenses of members of the council was adopted by the association at the annual meeting of December 29, 1902. The rule then adopted provides (I quote from the annual report of 1902) :

That the association pay the traveling expenses incurred by members of the council in attending one meeting a year, this meeting to be in addition to the meeting held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

The purpose of this rule is obvious—namely, to secure the national and democratic character of the association; national, because the rule secures a more general attendance of members living at a distance, and especially from the South and West; and democratic, because it does not demand disproportionate sacrifices from men of moderate means. It is easy to sneer, as some have done, at men who can not afford to pay their own expenses in the public service, but that is not a good way to make the association either national or democratic.

As to the administration and interpretation of this rule of the association, there have been some differences of opinion, which it seems best to discuss quite frankly. There can be no doubt that in government service generally, both Federal and State, the term traveling expenses includes what is technically called "subsistence" as well as "transportation." In a number of instances accounts have been rendered and paid in accordance with this principle. Some members of the council, on the other hand, have thought it best to follow the practice adopted by the board of editors of the *Review*—namely, to restrict payments on this account to railway and Pullman fares. The adoption of that interpretation requires a very considerable sacrifice on the part of members coming from a distance, as, for instance, from Texas or Minnesota, and the distinction is, from a purely logical point of view, artificial. Nevertheless, in view of the present need of economy, in order to maintain and develop the useful activities of the association, the council has agreed to recommend "that payments for traveling expenses authorized by the vote of December 29, 1902, be limited for the present to transportation and Pullman fares." It may be added that this is in accordance with the practice of the council during the past year, as informally agreed upon at the meeting in Chicago, following a reduction of the appropriation for the executive council as recommended by the budget committee.

The following matters are reported for the information of the association :

1. *Committee assignments.*—The list of appointments to committees and to the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* has been printed in the minutes for December 27 and is now in your hands. In view of the important business coming before the association it has been thought unnecessary and undesirable to take the time required for reading the list. In making these assignments the council has sought, doubtless often with imperfect success, to observe the following considerations: First and most important is the efficient performance of association work, which in some cases at least seems to require a certain element of stability in the membership of the various committees. The importance of this consideration is illustrated by the admirable service rendered for many years by the retiring chairman of the committee on bibliography. A second consideration has been the desire to secure the active cooperation and vital interest of scholars in various sections of the country, of the young men who have recently come into the profession as well as of the older men who have served the cause of historical scholarship in the past.

II. *Budget.*—The estimate of expenditures for 1916 has also been printed in the council minutes for December 27. Two items call for special notice.

The index to the papers and reports of the association which has been in preparation for some time is now approaching completion, and now calls for a larger expenditure than that originally contemplated. This is chiefly due to the cost of extending the index so as to cover the volumes from 1910 to 1914, inclusive. The item for this purpose stands this year at \$600, as against \$400 in 1915. It is understood that one additional annual appropriation of \$400 for 1917 will complete the work, thus setting free a considerable sum for other purposes.

A second item of an exceptional character results from the action of the association at its meeting in Chicago, December 29 and 30, 1914, creating a committee of nine to "consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, with instructions to report at the annual meeting of 1915." This committee concluded after considerable correspondence that satisfactory results could not be secured without the holding of at least one meeting, somewhat in advance of the date set for the final report. This committee had been definitely authorized by the association on the recommendation of the council, but unfortunately no provision had been made in the budget for the necessary expenses. Under these circumstances the sense of members of the council was taken in advance of the proposed date of the committee meeting. The chairman of the committee was subsequently informed that, though no formal action could be taken at that time, a majority of the members of the council responding to the secretary's inquiry, had expressed themselves in favor of making an appropriation for the necessary traveling expenses incurred in attending such a meeting. Formal action in harmony with this expression of opinion has since been taken by the council. The item of \$225 now included in the budget for 1916 is intended to include the traveling expenses of certain members living at a distance from the meeting, those of the secretary of the association incurred in attending the same meeting, at the request of the committee, and an appropriation for the printing of the report. In taking this action the council has sought to do its part in securing the object proposed by the association—namely, the thorough and open-minded discussion of certain problems deeply affecting the permanent welfare of the society. The gentlemen upon whom was imposed this difficult and not wholly agreeable duty were not in any sense whatever selected by the council; they were chosen on the nomination of a special committee named from the floor and they were elected by unanimous vote of the association. Notwithstanding certain publications, highly offensive in substance and in manner of statement, reflecting on the integrity of our colleagues on this committee, there was no reason to suppose that the association had withdrawn from them the high confidence which was expressed in entrusting them with this important service.

### *III. The American Historical Review.*

One matter of business which occupied the attention of the council during a considerable part of the November meeting was the report of the board of editors of the *American Historical Review*. With the issue of last July the *Review* completed the first 20 years of its history. To the members of the association in general, and perhaps peculiarly to those of us who had the privilege of coming into this society through membership in the association of guarantors of the *Review*, the completion of these two decades of scholarly achievement is the source of deep and permanent satisfaction, however unimportant our own personal contributions may have been. To appraise adequately the loyal and efficient services of individual colleagues who have served on the board of editors would be a difficult, indeed an impossible task. Precisely how the relations

which have existed and now exist between the Review and the association should be modified is a problem regarding which there are honest differences of opinion among men equally zealous for the best interests of the association. It is the kind of a question which the association has been accustomed in the past to discuss with frankness and yet with that mutual courtesy which ought to prevail among gentlemen who are also members of a great scientific organization. Unfortunately, some of those who have taken part in this discussion have preferred another course. They have undertaken not only a legitimate criticism of official acts and policies, but they have engaged in an indiscriminate attack upon the motives and the personal integrity of those who have ventured to differ from them. So far as this attack concerns itself with the conduct of the board of editors of the Review it has been dealt with in a report which, by vote of the executive council, has been distributed to members of the association. The discussion of this report was concluded by the passage of a vote which will be found in the printed minutes of November 27. Attention is called especially to the words in which the council has expressed "its full confidence in the efficient and unselfish manner in which the board of editors have conducted the affairs of the Review since its foundation." In reporting this vote it should be made perfectly clear that the council in taking this action has done so without any effort whatever to prejudice the important questions of policy to which reference has been made. On those matters individual members have their own opinions; but the council as a whole, expressing no opinion, is content to leave these issues as they have been all along in the hands of the association for the freest possible discussion.

#### *IV. Committee expenses.*

The practice of paying the traveling expenses of committees rests on a different footing from that of members of the council. As is generally known to members of the association, the council, acting under the general authority conferred upon it by Article V of the constitution, has been accustomed to make appropriations to committees, which are announced in the budget from year to year. It has been expected that these appropriations would be used at the reasonable discretion of the respective committees in the performance of the duties imposed upon them. The principle that necessary traveling expenses might be paid from such an appropriation was definitely stated in a letter written by the late Herbert B. Adams, then secretary of the association, and has been generally followed since. Among the highly important committees whose work could hardly have been done at all without such expenditures, reference may be made to the public archives commission, the committee of seven, the committee of five, and the committee of eight. Will anyone at all familiar with the work of any of these committees question for a moment the solid advantages derived by the association from expenditures of this kind? That in the administration of this policy a few errors have been made may well be admitted; that in a few cases the advantage gained was not proportionate to the expense involved. I am sure, however, that members of the council generally have not the slightest objection to the fullest publicity in this matter. I am confident that any man who examines without prejudice the record of such expenditures will find in that record, taken as a whole, solid evidence of the fairness with which the association has been served by the members of these various committees.

Nevertheless, the questions of policy and principle involved are questions which admit of an honest difference of opinion, having in view especially the need of careful economy in order to secure the most effective use of our resources. Acting on these considerations, the council has agreed to adopt a

more precise definition of its policy in this respect. The council therefore reports for the information of the association the following votes adopted at its meeting on December 28:

(a) The treasurer is instructed to rule that payments to members of the association for traveling expenses incurred in attending meetings of committees shall, unless otherwise ordered by the council, cover transportation and Pullman fares only.

(b) The treasurer is authorized to pay no traveling expenses of any members, board, or committee on account of meetings of such boards and committees held at the time and place of the annual meeting of the association.

#### *V. Finance committee.*

There are few learned societies whose financial condition is so strong as that of this association, with its substantial endowment in addition to the income derived from membership dues. Nevertheless, the problem of maintaining and increasing the endowment of the association and at the same time performing the expanding services which may reasonably be expected requires increasingly careful consideration. With this object in view the council has created a standing committee of the council on finance, consisting of the secretaries of the association and the council, the treasurer, and two other members of the council.

In concluding this report, which has been regrettably, but, in my opinion, necessarily, occupied to a large degree with questions of machinery and finance rather than with the great interest which that machinery is intended to serve, I desire to make one point absolutely clear: So far as the report embodies formal action of the council, the secretary is speaking definitely for the council as a whole. For such matter as has been added by way of explanation or comment the responsibility is entirely my own.

Respectfully submitted.

EVARTS B. GREENE,  
*Secretary of the Council.*

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1915.

#### REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Owing to the unavoidable absence of Mr. Lingelbach, chairman of the committee, only an informal report was made by Mr. Andrews, of Tufts College. Commenting upon the statistics which follow, he pointed out:

First. That the membership of the association is only about 13 larger than one year ago (2,926 instead of 2,913).

Second. That the loss of members in 1915 by deaths, resignations, or otherwise reached 277, necessitating the addition of 290 in order to show this small gain.

Third. That New England, the North Central States, and the South Central States showed net losses; the Pacific coast, the Northern and Southern Atlantic States, and the West Central regions, gains.

This showing would not have been even as good as it is had it not been for the cooperation of members of the association not members of the general committee.

The general committee, especially the eastern members, have cooperated with the various officials and committees of the association in insuring a large convention at Washington, by advertising the concessions in railway rates, and the arrangements about grouping the delegations from New England, and so forth, on certain trains. Plans are being made to increase this amount of cooperation this year in anticipation of the Cincinnati convention and make such cooperation more effective. A new statement of the association's activities is being prepared for the use of the general committee especially, and, more

particularly still, for the edification of those not yet formally allied with us but working along similar lines.

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1915.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

The committee on publications is again able to present an encouraging report. The total receipts have been greater than the expenditures, and the accounts are closed with a credit balance for the year of \$84.05.

Three years ago the committee was given a fund of \$1,000, which, together with the receipts from the sales of all publications, it was hoped would be sufficient to bear all future costs of publications of prize essays, etc. While it is largely a matter of bookkeeping, the committee takes pride in maintaining this fund and has made special efforts to sell some of the stock of publications on hand. For two years in spite of all efforts the fund seemed to decrease, and it is a pleasure, therefore, to report that the deficits for these last two years have been wiped out and the fund now stands (on the books) at \$1,018.45. The committee also has on hand stock of publications—prize essays, papers and reports of the association, and writings on American history—with a book value of \$6,955.65.

In spite of this favorable showing and apparent prosperity, the success of the committee's work is dependent upon the continued support of the members of the association, and in two directions the committee must receive greater support than in the past. The first of these is the series of prize essays. It seems to be generally agreed that the awarding of the prize and the publication of the winning essay is a desirable thing to be continued, but if this is to be done, more members of the association ought to purchase the volumes. To meet the cost of publication we need to sell on the average 600 copies, whereas the actual sales of seven essays average 433. The following table of sales showing profit and loss may be of interest:

| Essays.               | Copies sold. | 1915  | Profit (+) or loss (—). |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Krehbiel.....         | 498          | 11    | + \$173.67              |
| Carter.....           | 545          | 22    | + 93.11                 |
| Notestein.....        | 587          | 15    | — 316.32                |
| Turner.....           | 400          | 14    | — 295.50                |
| Brown.....            | 341          | 15    | — 271.92                |
| Cole.....             | 401          | 73    | — 438.51                |
| Muzzey (reprint)..... | 177          | 16    | — 103.73                |
| Barbour.....          | 252          | ..... | — 298.80                |

It is evident that the series of prize essays is not self-supporting. To make up the deficit the committee relies upon the proceeds from the sale of other publications, as the following statement reveals:

Receipts, Dec. 21, 1914, to Dec. 21, 1915:

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Prize essays.....  | \$433.84 |
| Royalties:   |          |
| "Study of history in elementary schools".....            | \$247.19 |
| "Study of history in secondary schools".....             | 27.50    |
|  | 274.69   |
| Papers and reports (including church history, \$10)..... | 71.65    |
| Writings on American history.....                        | 87.20    |
|  | \$872.38 |

Disbursements, Dec. 21, 1914, to Dec. 21, 1915 (less one-half cost of map for Williams's essay, \$63.80)..... 788.33

Credit balance..... 84.05  
Balance on hand Dec. 21, 1914..... 934.40

1, 018.45

The other activity for which the committee bespeaks a more hearty support from the members of the association is "The writings on American history." The expense of the preparation of this bibliography is borne by subscription. Two years ago the Yale University Press undertook to relieve the association of the expense of publication. In response to all our efforts to promote this good work the sale of "Writings" for 1912 has been brought to a total of only 333 copies, and for 1913 (recently published) 195 copies have been sold.

A circular was sent to all of the members of the association which contained unusual expressions of opinion from librarians of several of our most important libraries as to the great usefulness of this historical bibliography. It is too valuable to be given up, but if it is to be continued it must be accorded greater support.

It is a satisfaction to report that the Yale University Press, in spite of a loss of several hundred dollars on each of the two volumes it has already published, has consented at the earnest request of the committee to continue the publication for another year.

As a matter of formal record—Miss Barbour's prize essay on the "Earl of Arlington" has been brought out, and Miss Williams's essay on "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy" is practically through the press. And also, merely as a matter of formal record, it is necessary to report that the two volumes of the annual report for 1913 have recently appeared and been distributed to the members of the association.

The annual report for 1914 will appear in two volumes. Volume I is now ready for the press, but Volume II will not be ready until spring, for the reason that it is to have the long-awaited index of all the reports and papers.

In retiring from the position which he has held for several years the chairman wishes publicly to acknowledge his great obligation to Mr. Leland, the secretary of the association, upon whom the burden of the work of the committee has fallen and to whom is due the credit for such success as the committee on publications has achieved.

Respectfully submitted.

MAX FAERAND, *Chairman.*

WASHINGTON, *December 29, 1915.*

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE.

At the annual meeting held in Chicago, December 30, 1914, the executive council of the association recommended that "A committee of nine be appointed to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, with instructions to report at the annual meeting of 1915"; and also recommended that this committee, "in event of its appointment, be instructed to consider the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review." Mr. Dunbar Rowland moved as a substitute for the council's recommendation a series of resolutions, the last of which provided that a committee, charged with the duty of considering the affairs of the association and the Review, be "instructed to send a printed copy of its report to all members of the association not later than December 1, 1915." The resolutions thus offered as a substitute for the resolution proposed by the council were rejected. The recommendations made by the council were then adopted by the association, in the following words:

*Resolved*, That a committee of nine be appointed to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association and the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review, and that the committee be instructed to present a report at the annual meeting of 1915.

Your committee, thus specifically instructed to report at the annual meeting of 1915, laid plans to do so. We were, therefore, not prepared to comply with the unexpected request which the executive council made late in November that we publish our report by the middle of the present month. Moreover, in view of the action of the association, we doubted the propriety of doing more than adhering strictly to the instructions given us to report "at the annual meeting of 1915."

Of the members elected to compose this committee, one, Mr. James Ford Rhodes, has declined, to the great regret of the remaining eight, who, acting upon your authorization "to fill such vacancies as may arise in their number," chose Mr. Charles H. Hull as a substitute.

The committee, after organization, began its work by correspondence early in the spring. It was necessary for the members to acquaint themselves with some of the problems of the association and with what appeared to be the inclinations and desires of its members. By October the committee was prepared for a meeting in which there should be an attempt to come to an understanding on the more important questions. On October 9 and 10 meetings were held in New York, attended by all the members except Mr. E. D. Adams, who found it impracticable to come from California for the purpose. Meetings in Washington during the past few days have been attended by all the members except Mr. W. T. Root and the chairman, who was confined to his home by illness.

The committee now recommends for your consideration certain changes in the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, and certain plans for settling the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review, which it hopes will prove acceptable. The committee will take up first the organization of the association, then its procedure, then the Review, and finally the amendment of the constitution.

## I.

The organization comprises the officers, the executive council, the committees and commissions, and the association itself. From the beginning the officers and council have had almost complete responsibility for conducting the affairs of the association. We do not recommend that this practice be changed. On the contrary, it is our opinion that the business of the association, the custody of its property, and the care of its general interests should be left with the officers and council. We are, however, of the opinion that the members of the council should always be the choice, and most of them the recent choice, of the association; that the association should explicitly reserve to itself full power of ultimate control over its affairs; and that it should be regularly in possession of all information needful to render its control effective. In our judgment the changes which we recommend in the constitution are sufficient to insure these results in whatever measure the association may from time to time desire.

## II.

The procedure of the association needs revision. Increasing debate and multifarious reports from committees and commissions have overcrowded the brief hours left for the business session after a full program of scientific papers. In consequence the adequate presentation by the council of the scope and character of new undertakings has become difficult, and an appearance, at least, of undue haste has occasionally accompanied the transaction of important business. For the remedy of this situation your committee suggests:

First. That to the business meeting, including the election, there should be given a full half day, as in this year's program.

Second. That, as was done at Chicago, the minutes of the council should be printed and distributed at or before the business meeting.

Third. That reports from standing committees and commissions, showing in full the work accomplished, and in detail the expense incurred, should be made in writing to the council at least two weeks before the annual meeting, should be held by the secretary of the association at his office, and at the place of the annual meeting during its continuance, subject to inspection by any member, and should be read in the business meeting by title only unless the reading of the full report be called for by 10 members present or directed by the council.

Fourth. That, on the other hand, new activities and all matters in which there is reason to suppose that the association takes a special interest, should be somewhat fully presented by the council at the business meeting. The purpose of these recommendations is, on the one hand, to give members an opportunity of keeping acquainted with the work of the association, its council, and committees, and, on the other, to free the business meetings of unnecessary detail.

Since only a minority of the members of the association ever attend the business meetings, we also suggest that it would be well if the abstracts of proceedings prepared by the secretary and the secretary of the council for printing in the annual report could contain more extended information than hitherto concerning the association's activities aside from the historical papers read at the meetings.

These general recommendations regarding the procedure of the association we do not suggest placing in the constitution or by-laws, because those instruments should, in our opinion, be kept brief and general, and because the recommendations themselves are of necessity tentative, and may prove upon trial to need alteration. Meanwhile a mere vote of the association approving them, if it shall in fact approve them, will be sufficient, we assume, to secure adequate attention from the officers and council.

Regarding the procedure in nominations and elections, however, we think it desirable that definite rules should pertain, and have drafted by-laws which we recommend for that purpose.

### III.

Into the history of the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review we do not deem it necessary to go for the mere purpose of determining who, in the past, may have been legally the owners of that journal or in control of it. We do not understand that the board of editors, whatever their rights may be, are now or have ever been opposed to the Review becoming the unquestioned property of the association in case the association desires to own and conduct it. We are of opinion that the association does desire to own and control the American Historical Review, and, on the whole, that it is desirable for the association to do so. We believe, however, that the association should clearly understand the responsibility which it will assume and the contingencies which it must face as unquestioned owner of the Review.

Under the present arrangement for the publication of the American Historical Review the publisher receives (a) the money paid by the association for the copies mailed to its members, (b) the money paid on subscriptions by persons not members of the association, and (c) the proceeds of casual sales and of advertising placed in the Review. The publisher pays to the board (a) the stipulated sum of \$2,400 per year for editorial expenses, and (b) two-thirds of the net profits of publication. This latter sum varies from year to year. In 1913-14 the Review received \$254; in 1914-15 it was \$330; for the past five



years it has averaged about \$400. The total cash income of the board may therefore be set at not more than \$2,800. Out of this sum the board has paid for (a) office expenses (postage, express, stationery, and like items), (b) reviews, (c) contributed articles, (d) traveling expenses (transportation and Pullmans) of the editors for meetings, (e) occasional payments for copyists or procuring documents, (f) payment of \$120 a year for the preparation of some of the "historical news," and (g) the salary of an assistant to the editor, whose services since January, 1915, have been contributed by the Carnegie Institution.

For some years past the board of editors has turned over to the treasury of the association the sum of \$300 annually. This payment was gradually reducing the working balance of the Review funds; but since being relieved of the burden of the editorial assistant's salary the balance of the Review has been increasing.

Such being the present situation of the Review's finances, we turn to consider how changes which might occur would apparently affect the association under a contract for the publication of the Review like that now existing, which, in our opinion, is as favorable as the association could expect to make.

First. Any considerable decrease in the association's membership might necessitate increasing the payment made the publisher for each copy sent the members; for example, from the \$1.60 per annum now paid to \$2, which was paid before 1906. That would diminish proportionately the share of the annual membership dues that remained available for general purposes of the association.

Second. The postal laws, as construed by some authorities, require the association, if it owns the Review, to reduce the subscription price now charged nonmembers (\$4) to \$3.20 per year. Such a change would diminish the publisher's gross income about \$250 without diminishing his expenses at all. Of the consequent decline of \$250 in his net profits, the association, as successor to the board, would have to bear two-thirds; and, in case the publisher proved unwilling to assume the remaining third, the association might have to bear the whole.

[The circulation through the mails of periodical publications issued by or under the auspices of benevolent or fraternal societies or orders, or trades unions, or by strictly professional, literary, historical, or scientific societies, as second-class mail matter, shall be limited to copies mailed to such members as pay therefor, either as a part of their dues or assessments or otherwise, not less than 50 per centum of the regular subscription price.—The Postal Laws and Regulations pertaining to the Second Class of Mail Matter. Corrected to July 1, 1914, p. 6.]

Third. A large addition to the editorial expense of the Review may at some time devolve upon the association. At present an understanding between the Carnegie Institution and the director of its department of historical research permits the latter to devote a share of his time, and to direct a part of the time and labor of his assistants, to editorial and clerical work for the American Historical Review. If, for any reason, this arrangement should be terminated, the association, as owner of the Review, would presumably find it necessary to pay salaries for the performance of editorial and clerical labors. No one can tell in advance just what the cost of such services would be, but the committee ventures an opinion that the Review could not be kept at its present standard without the expenditure for this purpose of \$2,000 a year or more.

Combining these considerations we conclude that the association, in taking entire ownership and control of the review, must face the possibility that, in the worst case, the charge upon its treasury may be increased by something like \$2,500 to \$3,000 yearly. We do not wish to be understood as predicting that the membership will decrease, or that the arrangement with the Carnegie Institution will be terminated. But in reporting upon the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review and recommending that

the association do own and control the Review we should not be doing what we think our duty by leaving such possibilities unmentioned. On the other hand we would point out that if, under present conditions, the unexpected misfortunes to which we have alluded should happen, it is probable that the association would have either to appropriate for the resultant deficit or else see the Review abandoned. So the financial situation may not be so much changed in fact as in form if our recommendation about the ownership and control of the American Historical Review shall be adopted by the association. The only expense which will necessarily be involved if the recommendation is carried will be that resulting from the decrease, if any, required by law, in the subscription price to nonmembers of the association.

Your committee recommends that the association adopt the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of the association that full ownership and control of the American Historical Review should be vested in the association.

2. *Resolved*, That the president, the first vice president, secretary of the council, the secretary of the association, and the treasurer be instructed to make such arrangements as may be necessary to that end and be authorized to enter into such arrangements and agreements as may be requisite for the publication and management of the Review until final action is taken by the council.

We have not thought it desirable to provide in the constitution or by-laws for the election of the editors of the Review, which under the general provisions of our present constitution will rest where it long has, and where in our opinion it should rest—viz., in the council. But in view of the reference made to us of the entire relation between the association and the American Historical Review, we venture to express our opinion upon several points that concern the Review:

First. The term of the board of editors should be long enough to familiarize them thoroughly with their duties. If the end in view be only to assure the publication by the association of a journal of scholarship and authority, nothing will be gained by rapid rotation in office.

Second. The board should elect its own managing editor and should have entire control over the funds available for the support of the Review.

Third. The board should make a similar detailed annual report to that which we have suggested from other committees and commissions.

Fourth. The council should not elect as editor anyone of its voting members, and no editor of the Review, while holding that position, should serve as officer of the association or as a voting member of the council. Whatever reason for such pluralities may have existed in the earlier days of the association, there is none at present. The burden of conducting the affairs of the Review is a heavy one, and a distribution of the tasks seems desirable. We assume that if the association shall express its approval of these suggestions by the committee any editor who shall be chosen by the association as an officer or as a member of the council will resign from the board.

#### IV.

A few words are necessary concerning proposed amendments to the constitution. The only suggestion that the committee has heard for the amendment of Articles I, II, or III is that the membership dues be increased. We are of the opinion that no such change should be made at this time.

In Article IV we recommend amendments whereby former presidents of the association, while remaining members of the council for life, shall have the privilege of voting in it for three years only. We do not anticipate that this change will deprive the association of the valuable counsel of those who have

become thoroughly familiar with its problems. We recommend also that the number of elected members of the executive council be increased from six to eight. Believing, as we do, that the association should retain full power to hold its officers and council responsible for their acts, we have not recommended any constitutional restrictions upon the annual election of council members. We wish, however, to place upon record our judgment that a practice of changing the elected council members each year would render them ineffective for want of experience. We therefore suggest that successive nominating committees enter upon some plan for so presenting names that, if their candidates are chosen, the elected members of the council will normally hold their positions for not less than three nor more than four years.

Under the arrangements here recommended it is plain that there would be 18 voting members of the council, of whom 15 would be elected annually. If the four officers of the association, whose duties naturally make it desirable that they should hold office for a number of years successively, be added to the three ex-presidents, there would still be 11 of the 18 voting members who could be the immediate annual choice of the association and, presumably, in immediate relationship with the membership of the association.

In Article VI we recommend changes designed to make clear the relation of the council and the association. In the suggested by-laws we have incorporated what we understand to be the present practice of the association regarding elections and the expenses of the council.

We now place before the association the following recommendations for amendment of the constitution and for the enactment of by-laws, believing that the reasons for the chief alterations proposed have been adequately explained, and that the others will speak for themselves.

The constitution as it is at present reads as follows:

I. The name of this society shall be the American Historical Association.

II. Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III. Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV. The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

V. The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI. This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

Your committee recommends that the following article be substituted for Article IV of the present constitution:

IV. The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

Your committee recommends that the following article be substituted for Article V of the present constitution:

V. There shall be an executive council constituted as follows:

1. The officers named in Article IV.

2. Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.

3. The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

Your committee recommends that a new article be adopted, numbered VI, as follows:

VI. The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

Your committee recommends that Article VI of the existing constitution be renumbered VII.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the following by-laws:

1. The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attaching to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

2. A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 1st of October, as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by twenty or more members of the association at least five days before the annual meeting. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

3. The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in by-law 2.

4. The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

Respectfully submitted,

E. D. ADAMS,  
R. D. W. CONNOR,  
I. J. COX,  
W. A. DUNNING,  
MAX FARRAND,  
CHARLES H. HULL,  
W. T. ROOT,  
JAMES SULLIVAN,  
A. C. McLAUGHLIN, *Chairman*.

#### MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE WOODSTOCK HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 27, 1915.

The council met at 10 a. m. with President Stephens in the chair. Present: Messrs. Burr, W. C. Ford, Leland, Bowen, Clark, Bancroft, Barker, G. S. Ford, Haskins, Phillips, Vincent, Jameson, G. B. Adams, Turner, Sloane, Dunning, and the secretary.

The following chairmen of committees also attended the meeting: Messrs. Paltsits, Cheyney, Johnson, Richardson, Farrand, Johnston, Hazen, Learned (vice chairman of the committee on local arrangements), and Bigelow.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report showing that the total membership was 2,989 as against the enrollment on corresponding dates of 2,913 in 1914, 2,843 in 1913, and 2,846 in 1912.

He also presented certain recommendations, which were acted upon as follows:

1. It was voted to recommend to the association the adoption of the following rule regarding the payment of dues, to take the place of that adopted by the association December 30, 1914:

The January and subsequent issues of the *Review* will not be sent to members until their current dues are paid. Members whose dues remain unpaid after June 1 will not be carried upon the roll of the association, but they may be reinstated at any time thereafter upon payment of the dues then current.

2. The recommendation that the functions of editor be detached from the office of secretary was referred to the committee on publications.

3. The financial recommendations were referred as usual to the budget committee.

The secretary of the council presented a brief report emphasizing the need of careful consideration of finances with a view to securing more adequate support for the various enterprises undertaken by the association.

The resignation of Prof. George L. Burr from the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* was accepted, to take effect January 1, 1916.

Invitations for the annual meeting of the association in 1916 were presented by various organizations in New York, Springfield, Mass., and St. Louis. The secretary was instructed to make appropriate acknowledgments, calling attention to the previous action of the association.

The treasurer presented the following report:

*Receipts, Dec. 23, 1914, to Nov. 24, 1915.*

|   |              |              |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| Balance on hand Dec. 23, 1914.....  |              | \$2, 382. 96 |
| Receipts to date:   |              |              |
| Annual dues.....  | \$7, 058. 70 |              |
| Dividend on bank stock.....   | 200. 00      |              |
| Interest on bonds and mortgage.....   | 900. 00      |              |
| Loan, C. W. Bowen.....  | 625. 00      |              |
| Publications—   |              |              |
| Prize essays.....   | \$403. 74    |              |
| Papers and reports.....   | 61. 65       |              |
| Writings on American history.....   | 85. 20       |              |
| Church history papers.....  | 10. 00       |              |
| Royalties.....  | 160. 87      |              |
|   |              | 721. 46      |
| Miscellaneous—  |              |              |
| Sales of old copies of American Historical Review.....                              | 10. 55       |              |
| Refund by members of council for luncheon at Metropolitan Club, November, 1914..... | 77. 00       |              |
| List of members of the American Historical Association.....                         | 10. 00       |              |
|   |              | 97. 55       |
|   |              | 9, 602. 71   |
|   |              | 11, 985. 67  |
| Disbursements to date.....  |              | 10, 059. 94  |
| Balance on hand Nov. 24, 1915.....  |              | 1, 925. 73   |

*Assets Nov. 24, 1915.*

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Cash on hand   | \$1, 925. 73       |
| Bond and mortgage on real estate at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y. | 20, 000. 00        |
| Accrued interest on above (Sept. 29 to Nov. 24, 1915, at 4½ per cent)            | 131. 81            |
| 20 shares of American Exchange National Bank stock, at 210                       | 4, 200. 00         |
|  | <u>26, 257. 54</u> |
| Assets at last annual report, Dec. 23, 1914                                      | 26, 797. 48        |
| A decrease during the year of  | <u>539. 94</u>     |

The usual committee on budget, consisting of the treasurer, the secretary of the association, and the secretary of the council, was authorized to report at the December meeting, it being understood that the financial recommendations of the several officers and committees should be referred to this committee before final action.

Prof. Stephens reported briefly for the Pacific coast branch. Reports were received from the following standing and special committees: Historical manuscripts commission, public archives commission, committee on the Justin Winsor prize, committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, board of editors of the American Historical Review, board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine, committee on bibliography, committee on publications, general committee, editor of the reprints of Original Narratives of Early American History, committee on a bibliography of modern English history, committee on history in schools, committee on indexing the papers and annual reports of the association, committee on the military history prize, committee on military and naval history, committee on the American Year Book, committee on program for the Washington meeting, committee on local arrangements for the Washington meeting, advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution, committee on headquarters in London, and the committee on relations with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

At the suggestion of Prof. R. M. Johnston, chairman of the committee on military and naval history, and in view of arrangements made for the publication of a new journal entitled *The Military Historian and Economist*, it was voted to discontinue this committee. It was also voted to discontinue the special committee on promoting research and the advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution.

The board of editors of the American Historical Review presented an extended report. This report being under consideration, Mr. Clark moved that the executive council of the American Historical Association receive, accept, and approve the report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review and that the council express its full confidence in the efficient and unselfish manner in which the board of editors have conducted the affairs of the Review since its foundation. This motion was seconded by Mr. Greene.

On motion of Mr. Bancroft, seconded by Mr. Bowen, it was voted to amend the above motion by ordering that the report be printed.

It was voted to amend further by instructing the secretary to furnish Mr. Bancroft as soon as possible a typewritten copy.

Amendments were also voted to strike out the word "approve" in the first clause of the motion and to add to the statement about printing the words, "for distribution to members of the American Historical Association."

The motion as amended was then put as follows:

1. That the executive council of the American Historical Association receive and accept the report of the board of editors of the American Historical Re-

view and that the council express its full confidence in the efficient and unselfish manner in which the board of editors have conducted the affairs of the Review since its foundation.

2. That the report be printed for distribution to the members of the American Historical Association.

3. That the secretary be instructed to furnish Mr. Bancroft as soon as possible with a typewritten copy of the report.

Mr. Bancroft having asked for a roll call on this motion and Mr. Dunning having asked to be excused from voting, the vote stood as follows:

Ayes: Messrs. Stephens, Leland, Greene, Bowen, Clark, Barker, G. S. Ford, Haskins, and Phillips. In addition, "Mr. Vincent voted 'aye,' expressing confidence in the personal integrity of the board of editors, but reserving difference of opinion on matters of policy."

Present but not voting: Messrs. Burr, Bancroft, Jameson, Adams, Turner, Dunning.

Noes: None.

So the motion was adopted.

During this discussion a short recess was taken for luncheon, after which the session was resumed. Certain matters were informally discussed and agreed upon during the recess and acted upon formally during the afternoon session.

Mr. Bancroft offered to defray the expense of printing the report of the board of editors, but no motion was made to accept his offer.

It was voted to authorize the usual committee on appointments to prepare, in consultation with the president, nominations for the various standing committees for consideration by the council at the December meeting. The president subsequently appointed Mr. G. S. Ford to act with the secretary of the association and the secretary of the council on this committee. This committee was also authorized to appoint the chairman of the program committee in advance of the December meeting.

The question of continuing the appropriation for the bibliography of Writings on American history and the obligation of the association with reference to such continuance was referred to the budget committee with the understanding that the obligations of the association do not extend beyond the year 1916.

The committee on publications reported that the Yale University Press, notwithstanding a considerable loss in the first two years of their publication of the "Writings," had agreed to publish it for another year.

The committee also recommended the establishment of a class of "institutional members" who should receive for \$6 all publications of the association. This recommendation was referred back to the committee with instructions to consider it further and report at the next meeting of the council.

The treasurer moved that the question of the desirability of making definite appropriations for the committee on publications year by year, instead of the policy now in force of a distinct fund, be referred to the budget and publication committees for report at the next meeting.

The secretary of the council presented the expense accounts of three members of the committee of nine, incurred in attendance upon the recent meeting of that committee in New York, together with that of the secretary of the association who attended at the request of the committee. It was voted that the matter be referred to the budget committee with the understanding that the sum of \$225 would be granted for these expenses and for the printing of the committee's report. The secretary of the council was instructed to write a letter to the chairman of the committee of nine expressing the hope that the report of that committee might be printed and distributed to members of the association two weeks in advance of the annual meeting.

The council adjourned at 6 p. m. to meet in Washington on Monday, December 27, at 3 p. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE,  
*Secretary of the Council.*

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF  
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE NEW  
WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 27, 1915.**

The council met at 3 p. m. with President Stephens in the chair. Present: Messrs. Burr, Leland, Bowen, Clark, Vincent, Bancroft, Haskins, Phillips, Jameson, Dunning, and the secretary. Mr. Ephraim Adams also attended as a delegate from the Pacific coast branch.

The treasurer presented the report of the budget committee. The recommendations of the committee were acted upon as follows:

The following estimate of expenditures for 1916 was approved:

|  |            |            |
|--|------------|------------|
| Expenses of administration.....                      |            | \$2,025.00 |
| Secretary and treasurer.....                         | \$1,500.00 |            |
| Secretary of the council.....                        | 50.00      |            |
| Executive council.....                               | 300.00     |            |
| Committee on nominations.....                        | 25.00      |            |
| Miscellaneous.....                                   | 150.00     |            |
| Annual meetings.....                                 |            | 125.00     |
| Committee on program, 1915.....                      | 50.00      |            |
| Committee on program, 1916.....                      | 50.00      |            |
| Conference of historical societies.....              | 25.00      |            |
| Publications.....                                    |            | 1,597.73   |
| Committee on publications.....                       | 797.73     |            |
| Editorial work.....                                  | 200.00     |            |
| Cumulative index, papers, and reports.....           | 600.00     |            |
| American Historical Review.....                      | 4,560.00   | 4,560.00   |
| Standing committees.....                             |            | 240.00     |
| Public archives commission.....                      | 100.00     |            |
| General committee.....                               | 75.00      |            |
| Committee on bibliography.....                       | 25.00      |            |
| Committee on history in schools.....                 | 40.00      |            |
| Prizes and subventions.....                          |            | 750.00     |
| Justin Winsor prize (1914).....                      | 150.00     |            |
| Writings on American history.....                    | 200.00     |            |
| History Teacher's Magazine.....                      | 400.00     |            |
| Expenses of committee of nine.....                   | 225.00     | 225.00     |
|  |            | 9,522.73   |
| Held in trust.....                                   |            | 375.00     |
| Military history prize.....                          | 250.00     |            |
| Gift for bibliography of modern English history..... | 125.00     |            |
|  |            | 9,897.73   |

In approving the reduced appropriation for the program committee, it was agreed to recommend that only two editions of the program be issued.

The recommendation of the budget committee that a registration fee of 50 cents be established in connection with the annual meetings of the association was deferred for consideration at the November meeting of the council.

It was voted to continue the present practice with respect to the publication fund.

The committee on appointments presented its report recommending assignments to council committees, which, with amendments, was adopted by votes of December 27 and 28, as follows:

*Historical manuscripts commission.*—Gaillard Hunt, C. H. Ambler, H. E. Bolton, M. M. Quaife, W. O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.



*Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.*—C. R. Fish, G. L. Beer, Everett Kimball, Allen Johnson, O. G. Libby.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—L. M. Larson, S. B. Fay, L. J. Paetow, Ruth Putnam, W. R. Shepherd.

*Public archives commission.*—V. H. Paltsits, C. W. Alvord, S. J. Buck, J. C. Fitzpatrick, G. S. Godard, Charles Moore, T. M. Owen.

*Committee on bibliography.*—G. M. Dutcher, W. T. Laprade, A. H. Lybyer, A. H. Shearer, W. A. Slade, B. C. Steiner, Wallace Notestein, W. W. Rockwell.

*Publications* (ex officio with exception of the chairman).—H. B. Learned, C. R. Fish, G. M. Dutcher, Gaillard Hunt, J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson, V. H. Paltsits, and the secretaries of the council and of the association.

*General committee.*—W. E. Lingelbach, Arthur I. Andrews, W. K. Boyd, J. M. Callahan, C. E. Carter, I. J. Cox, Eloise Ellery, R. M. McElroy, Irene T. Myers, E. S. Noyes, P. F. Peck, M. P. Robinson, R. B. Way, and the secretaries of the association and the Pacific coast branch.

*Committee on history in schools.*—W. S. Ferguson, Victoria Adams, H. E. Bourne, H. L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, O. M. Dickerson, H. D. Foster, S. B. Harding, Margaret McGill, R. A. Maurer, N. W. Stephenson.

*Conference of historical societies.*—Chairman to be selected by the program committee; A. H. Shearer, secretary.

*Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine.*—Henry Johnson, F. M. Fling, James Sullivan, Anna B. Thompson (these four hold over); Frederic Duncalf, O. H. Williams (these two elected for three years from January 1, 1916).

*Committee on program, thirty-second annual meeting, Cincinnati, 1916.*—H. E. Bourne, F. M. Anderson, Merrick Whitcomb, J. A. Woodburn, W. H. Siebert, E. R. Turner.

*Committee on local arrangements.*—Charles P. Taft (chairman), Charles T. Greve (vice chairman), Judson Harmon, Charles W. Dabney, P. V. N. Myers, W. P. Rogers, T. C. Powell, J. L. Shearer, H. C. Hollister, H. B. Mackoy, I. J. Cox (secretary), with power to add to their membership.

*Committee on bibliography of modern English history.*—E. P. Cheyney, A. L. Cross, R. B. Merriman, Conyers Read, W. C. Abbott.

It was voted that the committee on the military history prize be continued as at present until the prize is awarded.

Mr. Ephraim Emerton was elected a member of the board of editors of the American Historical Review for two years from January 1, 1916, to fill the unexpired term of Mr. George L. Burr, resigned.

Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne was elected a member of the board of editors of the Review to serve six years from January 1, 1916.

It was voted to create a standing committee of the council on finance to consist of the secretaries, the treasurer, and two other members of the council to be appointed by the chair. The two other members subsequently named by the chair were Mr. G. S. Ford (chairman) and Mr. C. H. Haskins.

It was voted to rescind the vote of the council of December 30, 1901, assigning to the secretary of the association the duty of editing the annual reports, and that hereafter the work of editing the annual reports and the prize essays be performed under the direction of the publication committee.

The proposal for a new form of "institutional membership" presented by the publication committee was referred to the committee on finance for consideration and report.

In view of the fact that the general subject of the relations between the American Historical Review and the American Historical Association has been

referred to the committee of nine, it was voted to defer consideration of the proposal of the board of editors respecting the tenure of members of the board.

It was voted that the president be authorized to appoint a committee to cooperate with the National Highways Association in the selection of historical names. The president appointed Mr. Archer B. Hulbert as such committee.

It was voted that the usual November meeting of the council be held in New York City on the Saturday following Thanksgiving Day, and that Messrs. Bowen and Dunning be appointed a committee to select a suitable place of meeting.

Mr. Vincent moved the adoption of the following rule:

The treasurer is instructed to rule that payments to delegates or committees of the association for "traveling expenses" will be made only for transportation and Pullman fares.

After some discussion Mr. Phillips moved a substitute statement, which was accepted by Mr. Vincent, as follows:

The treasurer is instructed to rule that payments to members of the association for traveling expenses incurred in attending meetings of the executive council or of committees shall cover transportation and Pullman fares only.

Further consideration of this subject was deferred until a meeting of the council to be held on Tuesday, December 28, at 1.45 p. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE,  
*Secretary of the Council.*

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF  
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE  
WOODWARD BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 28,  
1915.**

The council met at 1.45 p. m., with President Stephens in the chair. Present: Messrs. Burr, Leland, Bowen, Clark, Haskins, Bancroft, Vincent, Phillips, Baldwin, Jameson, G. B. Adams, Dunning, and the secretary.

The action of the council on December 27, with respect to the committee on local arrangements was reconsidered and the secretary was authorized to insert the names proposed by Mr. Cox in the list of committees embodied in the minutes for that day. The secretary was also authorized to add to the list of members of the program committee the name of Mr. F. M. Anderson.

President Stephens announced the appointment of Mr. Waldo Lincoln and Mr. L. Bradford Prince as members of the committee to audit the accounts of the treasurer.

The council then resumed consideration of Mr. Phillips's substitute for Mr. Vincent's motion.

On motion of Mr. Dunning it was voted to amend by inserting after the word "shall" the words, "unless otherwise ordered by the council." On motion of Mr. Haskins it was voted to omit the words "of the executive council or."

Mr. Haskins then moved the following substitute:

The expenses incurred in attending meetings of committees shall be paid only when submitted in itemized form and approved by an appropriate committee.

The substitute was lost.

The motion as amended was adopted as follows:

The treasurer is instructed to rule that payments to members of the association for traveling expenses incurred in attending meetings of committees shall, unless otherwise ordered by the council, cover transportation and Pullman fares only.

Having in view the preceding action of the council in the matter of committee expense, Mr. Haskins moved that the council recommend to the association that the phrase "traveling expenses" as used in the vote of December 29, 1902, be interpreted as including transportation and Pullman fares only. With the consent of the mover the motion was subsequently amended to read as follows:

That the council report, as a recommendation to the association, that, in view of the present financial condition of the association, payments for traveling expenses, authorized by vote of the association on December 29, 1902, be limited for the present to transportation and Pullman fares.

The motion as thus amended was adopted.

Mr. Vincent then moved the following:

The treasurer is authorized to pay no traveling expenses of any member, board, or committee on account of meetings of such boards and committees held at the time and place of the annual meeting of the association.

Mr. Bancroft moved the following substitute for Mr. Vincent's motion:

*Resolved*, That no money shall be drawn from the treasury of the association or of the Review for the payment of any personal expenses of any officer, other than the secretary, or any member of the association, to the annual meetings.

On motion of Mr. Phillips the substitute motion of Mr. Bancroft was laid on the table. The motion of Mr. Vincent was thereupon adopted.

The third resolution proposed by Mr. Vincent was then read as follows:

*Resolved*, That at meetings of the executive council in November the committees of the association shall be asked to report in writing and not in person, except when the chairman of a committee is also a member of the council.

It was voted that this resolution lie on the table until the next meeting of the council.

The council adjourned at 3.30 p. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE,  
*Secretary of the Council.*

# REGISTER OF ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 27-31, 1915.

| A.                   | B.                        |                       |
|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Abel, Annie H.       | Babcock, Earle B.         | Bechtel, George G.    |
| Adams, Alice D.      | Babcock, Kendric          | Becker, Carl          |
| Adams, E. D.         | Bacot, D. Huger, jr.      | Beer, William         |
| Adams, George B.     | Baker, John W.            | Bell, James C., jr.   |
| Adams, Victoria A.   | Baldwin, James F.         | Benton, Elbert J.     |
| Alvord, C. W.        | Baldwin, Mrs. Marie L. B. | Benton, George W.     |
| Ambler, Charles H.   | Baldwin, Simeon E.        | Bigelow, John         |
| Ames, Herman V.      | Bancroft, Frederic        | Bingham, Hiram        |
| Anderson, Frank M.   | Barlow, Burt E.           | Black, J. William     |
| Anderson, D. R.      | Barnard, Job              | Blake, Maurice C.     |
| Andrews, Arthur I.   | Barnes, Gilbert H.        | Blodgett, James H.    |
| Andrews, Charles M.  | Barnes, Harry E.          | Blood, Wayland P.     |
| Andrews, Matthew P.  | Barss, Katharine G.       | Boak, A. E. R.        |
| Appleton, William W. | Bassett, John Spencer     | Bond, James A. C.     |
| Armour, William      | Bayley, Frank W.          | Bostian, Frederick H. |
| Askowith, Dora       | Beall, Mrs. Mary Stevens  | Boucher, C. S.        |
|                      |                           | Bourne, Henry E.      |
|                      |                           | Bowden, Clarence W.   |

Bowerman, George F.  
 Boyd, William K.  
 Brehaut, Ernest  
 Bretz, J. P.  
 Brewer, Margaret H.  
 Brigham, Clarence S.  
 Brigham, Herbert O.  
 Brown, Laurence L.  
 Brown, Marshall S.  
 Brown, Samuel H.  
 Brownson, Mary W.  
 Buck, Solon J.  
 Buffinton, A. H.  
 Bukey, Mrs. John S.  
 Burnett, Edmund C.  
 Burr, George L.  
 Burrage, Henry S.  
 Butterworth, William  
 Byrne, Eugene H.

## C.

Cabell, James A.  
 Caldwell, Wallace E.  
 Callahan, J. M.  
 Carman, Harry J.  
 Carpenter, William S.  
 Carter, Clarence E.  
 Chandler, Charles L.  
 Chapman, Charles E.  
 Chase, Philip P.  
 Cheyney, Edward P.  
 Chitwood, O. P.  
 Clark, A. Howard  
 Clark, Arthur H.  
 Clark, Dan E.  
 Clark, Hollis C.  
 Clark, Victor  
 Cochran, T. D.  
 Cole, T. L.  
 Colegrove, Kenneth  
 Coleman, Christopher B.  
 Collier, Theodore F.  
 Conger, A. L.  
 Connor, R. D. W.  
 Coolidge, Archibald C.  
 Corwin, Edward S.  
 Cotterill, R. S.  
 Cox, Isaac Joslin  
 Crocker, Henry G.  
 Crofts, F. S.  
 Cross, Arthur L.  
 Crothers, H. B.  
 Cumings, Mary M.

## D.

Davenport, Frances G.  
 Davies, George C.  
 Davis, Alice  
 Davis, Andrew McF.  
 Davis, Jennie M.  
 Dawson, Edgar  
 Day, Clive  
 Dennis, A. L. P.  
 Dickerson, O. M.  
 Dickinson, John  
 Dodd, W. F.  
 Dodd, William E.  
 Donnan, Elizabeth  
 Douglas, Charles H.  
 Drane, Rev. Robert B.  
 Draper, Mrs. Amos G.  
 Duncan, D. Shaw  
 Dunning, William A.  
 Dutcher, George M.

## E.

Eckenrode, H. J.  
 Eddy, William W.  
 Edmonds, Franklin S.  
 Ellery, Eloise  
 Elson, Henry W.  
 Emerton, Ephraim  
 Estes, Charles S.  
 Eubank, Lulu K.  
 Evans, Jessie C.  
 Evans, Paul D.

## F.

Fairbanks, Elsie D.  
 Fairley, William  
 Farr, Shirley  
 Farrand, Max  
 Faust, Albert B.  
 Fay, Sidney B.  
 Ferguson, W. S.  
 Fish, Carl Russell  
 Fitzpatrick, John C.  
 Flippin, Percy S.  
 Foster, Mrs. Corra B.  
 Foster, Herbert D.  
 Foster, John W.  
 Fox, George L.  
 Fox, Leonard P.  
 Fradenburgh, A. G.  
 Freeman, Archibald  
 Fuller, Mary B.  
 Fuller, Raymond H.

## G.

Galpin, Perrin C.  
 Gambrill, J. Montgomery  
 Gardiner, Frederic  
 Garrett, M. B.  
 Garrett, Mrs. T. Harrison  
 Garwood, Robert D.  
 Gay, Edwin F.  
 Geist, Leah S.  
 George, Robert H.  
 Gilbert, Amy M.  
 Glasgow, Robert  
 Godard, George S.  
 Gould, Clarence P.  
 Graham, Mrs. Hope W.  
 Gras, Norman S. B.  
 Gray, H. L.  
 Green, Henry S.  
 Greene, Evarts B.  
 Greenfield, Kent R.  
 Gregg, Frank M.  
 Griffin, Appleton P. C.  
 Grose, Clyde L.  
 Grosvenor, Edwin A.  
 Guilday, Rev. Peter

## H.

Hamblin, Howard M.  
 Hamilton, J. G. deR.  
 Harding, Samuel B.  
 Haring, Clarence H.  
 Harlow, Ralph  
 Hart, Charles Henry  
 Harvey, A. Edward  
 Haskins, Charles H.  
 Hayes, Carlton  
 Haynes, F. E.  
 Haynes, George H.  
 Hazen, Charles D.  
 Hearon, Cleo  
 Heath, John  
 Heckel, Albert K.  
 Hellweg, Edgar D.  
 Herrick, Cheesman A.  
 Higby, Chester P.  
 Hildt, John C.  
 Hirsch, Arthur H.  
 Hoover, Thomas N.  
 Hormell, O. C.  
 Howe, Samuel B.  
 Howe, Sheldon J.  
 Howe, W. F. H.  
 Howland, A. C.

Hudson, Irby R.  
Hulbert, Archer B.  
Hull, Charles Henry  
Hull, William I.  
Humphrey, E. F.

## I.

Iles, George

## J.

Jack, Theodore H.  
James, Alfred Proctor  
James, J. A.  
Jameson, J. Franklin  
Jenkins, Hester D.  
Jesser, Edward A.  
Johns, C. D.  
Johnson, Allen  
Johnson, Amandus  
Johnson, B. F.  
Johnson, Henry  
Johnston, R. M.  
Jones, Guernsey

## K.

Kaye, Percy L.  
Kayser, Elmer P.  
Kellar, Herbert A.  
Kelsey, R. W.  
Kendrick, Benjamin B.  
Kenney, James F.  
Kerner, Robert J.  
King, Charles M.  
Klein, Julius  
Kollock, Margaret R.  
Koontz, L. K.  
Kramer, Stella  
Krehbiel, Edward

## L.

Lander, Charles A.  
Laprade, William T.  
Latané, John H.  
Leake, J. M.  
Lear, J. M.  
Learned, Henry B.  
Leet, Grant  
Leland, Gertrude D.  
Leland, W. G.  
Levermore, Charles H.  
Lincoln, Charles H.

Lincoln, Waldo  
Lindley, Harlow  
Lockwood, Mary S.  
Logan, John H.  
Lord, Edward  
Lord, Eleanor L.  
Lough, Susan M.  
Lowrey, Lawrence T.  
Luetscher, George D.  
Lybyer, Albert H.

## M.

McCarthy, Charles H.  
MacDonald, William  
McDuffie, Penelope  
McElroy, Robert McN.  
McFarland, E. W.  
McGill, Margaret  
McGrane, Reginald C.  
McGregor, J. C.  
McGuire, Constantine E.  
McIlwain, Charles H.  
McKinley, Albert E.  
McLean, Ross H.  
Macy, Jesse  
Magoffin, Ralph V. D.  
Manning, William R.  
Marsh, Harriette P.  
Martin, Anne H.  
Martin, A. E.  
Martin, Percy A.  
Martin, Thomas P.  
Melvin, Frank E.  
Merritt, Elizabeth  
Miller, Thomas Condit  
Mitchell, Margaret J.  
Moore, Charles  
Moran, Thomas F.  
Morgan, W. T.  
Morrison, Samuel E.  
Morriss, Margaret S.  
Munro, Dana C.  
Muzzey, David S.

## N.

Nathan, Mrs. James  
Neilson, N.  
Newhall, Richard A.  
Nicolay, Helen  
Norton, Margaret C.  
Noyes, Edmund S.  
Nussbaum, F. L.

## O.

O'Brien, Rev. Frank A.  
Ogg, Frederic A.  
Olmstead, A. T.  
Ott, Mary C.

## P.

Packard, Laurence B.  
Page, Thomas W.  
Palmer, Herriott C.  
Paltsits, Victor H.  
Parker, Norman S.  
Paullin, C. O.  
Payne, Charles E.  
Pease, Theodore C.  
Peck, Paul F.  
Perring, Louise F.  
Pettus, Charles P.  
Phillips, Ulrich B.  
Pierce, Cornelia M.  
Pierce, Grace M.  
Pitman, Frank W.  
Plum, H. G.  
Price, Ralph R.  
Prince, L. Bradford  
Pulsifer, W. E.  
Purcell, Richard J.  
Putnam, Ruth

## Q.

Quaife, M. M.

## R.

Rammelkamp, C. H.  
Randall, James G.  
Read, Conyers  
Reed, Alfred Z.  
Reed, Rev. Willard  
Rees, Robert I.  
Reeves, Jesse S.  
Richards, Oron E.  
Riemen, Mrs. Charles E.  
Riley, Franklin L.  
Robertson, James A.  
Robinson, James H.  
Robinson, Morgan P.  
Rockwell, William W.  
Rosenberg, Jacob M.  
Rowland, Dunbar  
Russell, Elmer B.

## S.

Scherer, James A. B.  
 Schlesinger, A. M.  
 Schmidt, Louis Bernard  
 Schmitt, Bernadotte E.  
 Schuyler, Robert L.  
 Scofield, Cora L.  
 Scott, Arthur P.  
 Scott, Nancy E.  
 Seligman, Edwin R. A.  
 Senning, John P.  
 Severance, Frank H.  
 Shearer, Augustus H.  
 Sheldon, Addison E.  
 Shipman, Henry R.  
 Sioussat, Mrs. Albert  
 Sioussat, St. George L.  
 Slade, William A.  
 Smith, Ernest A.  
 Smith, Preserved  
 Smith, Richard R.  
 Snow, Alpheus H.  
 Spahr, Walter E.  
 Sparrow, Caroline L.  
 Spencer, Charles W.  
 Spencer, Henry R.  
 Stancliff, Henry C.  
 Steele, James D.  
 Steiner, Bernard C.  
 Stephens, F. F.  
 Stephens, H. Morse  
 Stephenson, N. W.  
 Stevens, E. N.  
 Steward, Theophilus G.  
 Stilwell, Lewis D.  
 Stock, Leo F.  
 Stout, Amanda  
 Sullivan, James  
 Surrey, N. M. Miller  
 Sutton, Ethel L. B.

## T.

Talbot, Marion  
 Talcott, Mary K.  
 Tall, Lida L.  
 Tanner, Edwin P.  
 Thompson, C. Mildred  
 Thompson, Frederic L.  
 Thompson, James W.

## Tilton, Asa C.

Trevvett, Lily F.  
 Trimble, William J.  
 Tschan, Francis J.  
 Turner, Edward R.  
 Turner, Rev. Joseph B.  
 Turpin, Edna H. L.  
 Tyler, Lyon G.  
 Tyler, Mason W.

## V.

Van Cleve, Thomas C.  
 Van Dyke, Paul  
 Van Loon, Hendrik W.  
 Van Nostrand, J. J., jr.  
 Van Tyne, C. H.  
 Van Wart, D. M.  
 Villard, Oswald G.  
 Vincent, John M.  
 Violette, E. M.

## W.

Walcott, Sidney S.  
 Walker, Curtis H.  
 Walmsley, James E.  
 Walter, Ella C.  
 Warfield, Ethelbert D.  
 Way, Royal Brunson  
 Weber, Nicholas A.  
 Webster, H. J.  
 Welch, Jane M.  
 Wells, Philip P.  
 Wendel, Hugo C. M.  
 Wheeler, Benjamin W.  
 White, Elizabeth B.  
 White, Laura A.  
 White, Paul L.  
 Whiteley, James G.  
 Whittlesey, Derwent S.  
 Wiles, Ernest P.  
 Willcox, Walter F.  
 Williams, Mary W.  
 Wilson, Anne E.  
 Wilson, George G.  
 Wilson, Jean W.  
 Winship, George P.  
 Wriston, Henry M.  
 Wood, Frank H.  
 Wrong, G. M.

## Y.

Young, Mary G.

## Z.

Zeligzon, Maurice D.  
 Zook, George F.

## NONMEMBERS.

Allaben, Frank  
 Baldwin, Mrs. James F.  
 Benton, Mrs. George W.  
 Bradford, Mrs. Florence M.  
 Carter, Bertha  
 Chamberlain, George E.  
 Clark, Allen C.  
 Connelley, William E.  
 Dennis, Mrs. A. L. P.  
 Dwight, Harris N.  
 Flick, Alexander C.  
 Fraser, Alexander  
 Gallagher, Katherine J.  
 Harlan, E. R.  
 Hickey, Miss S. G.  
 Hodgdon, F. C.  
 Horton, Rev. James A.  
 Huddleson, Margaret  
 Hull, Mrs. A. T.  
 Jenks, Leland H.  
 Leadbetter, Maud G.  
 Mary Ruth, Sister  
 Morgan, James D.  
 Palmer, Alice R.  
 Potter, Mary  
 Redstone, Edward H.  
 Ryder, E. H.  
 Shippee, Lester B.  
 Shir-cliff, W. H.  
 Shoemaker, Floyd C.  
 Spencer, Mrs. Henry R.  
 Swem, Earl G.  
 Tanger, Jacob  
 Trendley, Frederick  
 Trendley, Mary  
 Trimble, Mrs. W. J.  
 Wiener, Lillie M.  
 Williams, Mrs. Lydia A.

*Register of attendance by States.*

| States.                 | Members. | Nonmem-<br>bers. | States.               | Members. | Nonmem-<br>bers. |
|-------------------------|----------|------------------|-----------------------|----------|------------------|
| Alabama.....            | 2        | .....            | New Jersey.....       | 12       | .....            |
| California.....         | 7        | .....            | New Mexico.....       | 1        | .....            |
| Colorado.....           | 1        | .....            | New York.....         | 65       | 5                |
| Connecticut.....        | 21       | 1                | North Carolina.....   | 6        | .....            |
| Delaware.....           | 1        | .....            | North Dakota.....     | 1        | 1                |
| District of Columbia... | 46       | 7                | Ohio.....             | 22       | 3                |
| Georgia.....            | .....    | 1                | Oklahoma.....         | 1        | .....            |
| Illinois.....           | 23       | 1                | Oregon.....           | .....    | 1                |
| Indiana.....            | 9        | 1                | Pennsylvania.....     | 38       | 1                |
| Iowa.....               | 8        | 1                | Philippine Islands... | 1        | .....            |
| Kansas.....             | 3        | 2                | Rhode Island.....     | 3        | 1                |
| Kentucky.....           | 1        | .....            | South Carolina.....   | 3        | .....            |
| Louisiana.....          | 2        | .....            | Tennessee.....        | 3        | .....            |
| Maine.....              | 4        | .....            | Texas.....            | 1        | .....            |
| Maryland.....           | 21       | 3                | Vermont.....          | 2        | .....            |
| Massachusetts.....      | 56       | 3                | Virginia.....         | 15       | 1                |
| Michigan.....           | 15       | 1                | West Virginia.....    | 6        | .....            |
| Minnesota.....          | 2        | .....            | Wisconsin.....        | 7        | 2                |
| Mississippi.....        | 1        | .....            | Wyoming.....          | 1        | .....            |
| Missouri.....           | 6        | 1                | Canada.....           | 3        | 1                |
| Nebraska.....           | 2        | .....            |                       |          |                  |
| Nevada.....             | 1        | .....            | Total.....            | 427      | 38               |
| New Hampshire.....      | 4        | .....            |                       |          |                  |

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II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN CALIFORNIA.

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SAN FRANCISCO, BERKELEY, PALO ALTO, July 20-23, 1915.

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## THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN CALIFORNIA.<sup>1</sup>

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For several years, indeed, during most of the period since the establishment of the Pacific coast branch in 1903, the members of that branch have urgently invited the American Historical Association to hold one of its regular meetings somewhere upon the Pacific slope. Great as were the attractions, the difficulties, especially in the case of meetings held at Christmas time, seemed insurmountable. Accordingly the Pacific coast members three years ago took advantage of the approach of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to invite the association to hold an additional or intercalary meeting in California in the summer of 1915. The invitation was gratefully accepted. Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig, president of the Academy of Pacific Coast History and secretary of the exposition, was made chairman of the committee of arrangements; Prof. E. D. Adams, of Stanford University (whose place was later taken by Prof. Frederic L. Thompson, of Amherst College, temporarily resident at Berkeley), chairman of the committee on program. The date set was July 20-23. Officials of the University of California, of Stanford University, and of other Californian institutions cooperated heartily with those named in making the meeting successful, but, no doubt, all who labored for its success would unite in declaring that it owed more of its form, merit, and interest to the endeavors of Prof. H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, president of the American Historical Association, than to those of any other individual.

Those who remember the meeting of July, 1893, held at Chicago during the time of the World's Fair, will not need to be told that a meeting held under such circumstances can not be expected to have the same character as one that might be held in cloistered seclusion at some tranquil time and place. It was difficult for audiences to be prompt, difficult sometimes for them to resist the surrounding attractions of the exposition. The program was broken a little more largely than is usual by defaults and alterations. Circumstances required the exercises to be held in too many different places—the Philippine Islands Building, the Oregon Building, the California

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<sup>1</sup> This is substantially the account which appeared in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1915.

Building, the Argentina Building, at the exposition; the Fairmont Hotel and the hall of the Native Sons of the Golden West, in San Francisco; the buildings of the University of California, at Berkeley; those of Stanford University, at Palo Alto—places in some instances separated from each other by long suburban or urban journeys.

But, on the other hand, there were compensations, more than ample, for all these minor and inevitable infelicities. No one had expected or desired the occasion to reproduce in full detail the typical meeting of the association, and all attempt to do so was frankly abandoned. There was no business session nor any attempt to transact business. The attendance (registration about 150) was mainly of members dwelling in the western half of the United States, though with a fair sprinkling of eastern members. The program made no effort to cover the whole field of human history, but, with excellent judgment, substituted for the usual miscellany a body of papers all having the common trait of relating to the Pacific Ocean or to Panama. This appropriate limitation gave unity to the whole occasion, and the exceptional interest which resulted from it was one of the distinguishing marks of the California meeting.

Other distinguishing characteristics were supplied by the local environment and by the resident friends of the association. It was difficult to take other than a hopeful view of the status and progress of history, in the sparkling air and under the bright sky of California, in sight of the "Audacious Archer" and the other artistic triumphs of the exposition, under the live oaks of the Berkeley campus, or in the impressive cloisters of Palo Alto. The great war, which in the East oppresses the heart with incessant pain, was visibly 8,000 miles farther away. The local members of the association welcomed all comers with Californian openness of hand and mind. The general receptions at the California Building, at the house of President Wheeler, and at the hall of the Native Sons, the luncheons at the two universities, the afternoon hour at the beautiful country house of Mr. and Mrs. Crocker, and on the final day the hours of exquisite pleasure spent under the hospitable roof of Mrs. Hearst at her hacienda at Pleasanton, made a sum total of social pleasure which can hardly have been equaled at any previous meeting, and which certainly could never be paralleled at any meeting held in the East in December.

By association with the meetings of the American Asiatic Association and of the Asiatic Institute, the meeting was made a part of a Panama-Pacific Historical Congress; but the present report is confined to the proceedings of the historical association. Those of the two organizations which preceded were not in the strict sense

historical, though they dealt with themes which have great interest for every historian; for instance, the proceedings of the Asiatic Institute consisted of discussions of "The Pacific as the theater of two civilizations" and "The Pacific as the theater of 'the world's great hereafter,'" by ex-Secretary Bryan, ex-President Taft, Chancellor Jordan, and others. Even in the case of the papers read before the historical association, the fullest sort of summary is rendered less necessary, and the defects naturally attending one auditor's report will be made less of an evil, by the fact that a volume commemorative of the occasion and containing the full text of most of these papers, is expected to be published before long. It will certainly be a notable volume, for the papers, besides the unity of theme and effect which has been spoken of above, were in general of marked excellence.<sup>1</sup>

Four general papers of distinguished value marked the evening sessions: The address of Prof. Stephens, president of the association, on the "Conflict of European nations in the Pacific Ocean;" that of Señor Don Rafael Altamira y Crevea, professor at Madrid, and representative of the Spanish Government on this occasion, on "Spain and the Pacific Ocean;" that of Hon. John F. Davis, president of the Native Sons of the Golden West, on the "History of California;" and that of Mr. Taussig on "The American Interoceanic Canal; an historical sketch of the canal idea." At the conclusion of Mr. Taussig's clear and valuable review of the long process by which the great historic event now being celebrated had been brought about, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, an ex-president of the association, being called upon by the president, gave an extended and most interesting narrative of the course of action through which, as President of the United States, he had secured to it the opportunity to construct a Panama Canal under purely American control.

The main purpose of Prof. Stephen's presidential address was to show how the development of efforts for the control of the Pacific had followed the course of European politics. This was done with a characteristically wide view over the fields of modern European history. Regular communication, it was pointed out, and systematic exploration and development, and all the problems of the Pacific, begin with the first advent of the Europeans, with the arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca in 1509 and in China, and with the simultaneous Spanish discoveries of Balboa. The first great landmarks are the expedition of Magellan and the Spanish occupation of the Philippines, begun in 1565, the latter an event of capital importance, which the institution of the Manila galleon connected closely with the history of Mexico. Another stage was marked by

<sup>1</sup>The Pacific Ocean in History: Papers and Addresses, edited by H. Morse Stephens and H. B. Bolton. New York, 1917, Macmillan.

the absorption of Portugal into Spain in 1580. The English and Dutch resistance to the Hapsburg power is reflected in Drake's voyage and in other events, but the commercial endeavors of those powers were turned rather toward India, eastern Asia, and the Malay Archipelago, from which, however, the Dutch developed the earlier explorations of the South Pacific. The Spanish monopoly in the Pacific, assailed by the English and Dutch in the early seventeenth century, and under Louis XIV by those French attacks which Dahlgren has recently described, was revived after the Treaty of Utrecht, but once more assailed by the English in their struggle against exclusion from Spanish America, culminating in the war of 1740. Anson's incursion into the Pacific and capture of the Manila galleon marked a fresh era, showing that the Spanish power in the Pacific was vulnerable, that that ocean need no longer be regarded as a Spanish lake. English statesmen began to cast their eyes upon it. Draper's occupation of Manila in 1762 was a preliminary sign. From the time of Peter the Great the monopoly began to be threatened by Russia. Spain answered by renewed efforts, northward from New Spain, westward from Peru. The *legajo* in the archives of the Indies which relates to the Portolá expedition is entitled "Papers Relating to the Russians in California." But the answer came too late, and the Nootka Sound convention of 1790, ending Spanish monopoly, ended an epoch in the history of the Pacific. Already the first real trade across the Pacific—in furs from the northwest coast to China—had been begun; but the suspension of European activity of this sort from 1789 to 1815 gave the United States the chance to supplant Europe in the trade. In a similar manner, the effects of Spanish-American independence, of the American acquisition of California, of the foundation of British Columbia and the confederation of Canada, of the rise of Japan and Australia, and of the war of 1898, were sketched in their large outlines, the problem of the conflicts between America and Asiatic powers remaining as the chief problem of the twentieth century.

Of the sessions occupied after the manner of such meetings, with groups of briefer papers, five were devoted to five different aspects or subdivisions of the main theme of the congress. Thus, one session, a session held jointly with the two Asiatic societies, was given to the Philippine Islands and their history as a part of the history of the Pacific Ocean area; one to the Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska in their relation with the Pacific Ocean; one to Spanish America and the Pacific; one to the exploration of the Northern Pacific Ocean and the settlement of California; and one to Japan and Australasia. There was also a meeting of the California History Teachers' Association and a meeting devoted to the history

of New Mexico and styled a meeting of the New Mexico Historical Society, though open to the same public as the other sessions. In the former the question was discussed by Prof. George L. Burr, of Cornell University; Miss Crystal Harford, of the Iodi High School; Mr. Edward J. Berringer, of the Sacramento High School; and Mr. John R. Sutton, of the Oakland High School, whether it is for the interest of history in schools that the American Historical Association make a fuller definition of the history requirement for entrance to college—a definition showing the especial points to be emphasized and those to be more lightly treated.<sup>1</sup>

The session relating to Philippine history was presided over by Prof. León María Guerrero, of the University of Manila, who introduced the session by remarks on the moral mission of history and on the special difficulties of the history of the Philippine Islands. In the absence of Dr. James A. Robertson, librarian of the Philippine Library, a summary was given, by another hand, of a paper in which he had set forth a remarkable discovery lately made by him on the Island of Panay of a Bisayan criminal code in a syllabic script, which casts much novel light on the social structure of the early Philippine peoples and on their ideas of law in the period before the Spanish occupation.

Of the papers actually read in the session, the first, by Mr. K. C. Leebrick, of the University of California, dealt with the "Troubles of an English governor of the Philippines"—namely, those of Dawsonne Drake, a simple-minded East India Co. servant, of narrow training, sent out from Madras after the conquest of Manila, installed as deputy governor in November, 1762, and forced by his council to resign in March, 1764. The story was told from the Manila records in the archives of Madras and from papers in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. The difficulties were those naturally engendered by placing the officers of a military and naval expedition under the direction of a commercial company, but heightened by conciliar organization, by the confusion of military and financial purposes, and by dissensions of religion and race among English, Spanish, native, and Chinese elements.

The paper by Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the same university, on the "Question of ecclesiastical visitation in the Philippines," dealt with a long series of disputes arising from the exceptional arrangement whereby in these islands benefices were largely held by members of the regular clergy. The practice of episcopal visitation placed such holders of benefices in a position of divided allegiance, as between their prelates and their orders, and led to long-

<sup>1</sup>As has been noted, the papers read at this meeting were printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, June, 1916.

continued discord. Some of the earlier archbishops were regulars, ambitious for their orders; later, the archbishop usually acted under a natural ambition to control all ecclesiastical affairs. In these disputes of prelates and friars, the *audiencia* acted both as a tribunal and as agent of the royal power. But in the end the supplanting of the friars by seculars was generally conceded to be inadvisable, because its tendency would be to bring into the benefices immature and undesirable native priests.

Dr. David P. Barrows, dean in the University of California, and formerly commissioner of education in the Philippine Islands, gave a mere summary of his paper on the "Governor General of the Philippines under Spain and the United States."<sup>1</sup> The dilemma in the shaping of the office was, as he described it, that of investing the supreme administrative official with ample authority for meeting all emergencies, at so great a distance from the metropolitan country, yet guarding against excessive power. The purport of his paper was to describe the extent to which the traditions of this same great office as it existed under Spain had survived into the present régime.

The session for Northwestern-Pacific history was opened by a paper by Hon. F. W. Howay, of New Westminster, judge in British Columbia, on the "Fur trade as a factor in northwestern development." After dwelling upon the transitory character, wasteful competition, and slight results of the period of maritime endeavor from 1788 to 1815, he turned to description of the greater results which followed the fur trade, especially after the union of the Northwest Company with the Hudson's Bay Company. Despite the purpose of avoiding improvements not strictly necessary to subsistence and the trade, the company was insensibly led to develop the country in ways that would bring forward agriculture and commerce, the lumber and coal industries.

From extensive studies in the Russian archives, made on behalf of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Prof. Frank A. Golder, of Washington State College, in an address of much interest, developed the "Attitude of the Russian Government toward its American possessions." The beginning was made by the expeditions of Peter the Great. Catherine II uniformly vetoed proposals of Russian expansion into America, on the ground that such undertakings called for a greater marine and a more abundant population than Russia possessed, and also would detract from the development of Siberia. Mr. Golder described the discussions under the Czar Paul, the chartering of the Russian America Co., the renewed discussions when its first charter expired, and the increasing burden which Russian America appeared, from 1820 to 1860, to lay on the Russian

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<sup>1</sup>Printed in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1916.

Government, until, after an unfavorable report from two commissioners sent out in 1861-62, Russia was quite ready to give up the territory for much less than she obtained by the treaty of 1867. The reasons given by Stoeckl, minister at Washington, in a confidential report to the minister of finance, were summarized: The general unprofitableness of European colonies, the difficulty of holding that great region in case of war, the great burden of expense to be borne till a remote period, the precariousness of trade as the United States expanded, "manifest destiny," and the stronger claims of the career that lay before the Russians in Asia.

Hon. Clarence B. Bagley, of Seattle, in a paper on the "Waterways of the Pacific Northwest," dwelt chiefly upon the development of steamboat navigation, especially that of navigation on the Columbia River till its recent opening up to Lewiston, upon the harbor improvements by Government and capitalists at Seattle and Vancouver, and upon the recent history of northwestern commerce.

The final paper in this session was a thoughtful and suggestive discourse by its chairman, Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, on the "Western Ocean as a determinant in Oregon history." Adverting first to the large place which water communication with the Pacific, for purposes primarily of Asiatic trade, had had in Jefferson's instructions to Lewis and Clark and earlier explorers, he showed how, nevertheless, the Willamette colony had till 1849 been isolated from the rest of the world almost as completely as early Virginia or Massachusetts. Development out of the pioneer stage would probably have been much slower but for external accidents like the discovery of gold in California and in British Columbia. Enthusiastic faith in a Pacific future, such as is expressed in Wilkes's prophetic words regarding the relations of Oregon and California to the Pacific Ocean, or such as is shown in those thoughts of Asiatic trade that inspired the earliest projects of transcontinental railroads, caused the region to be settled before its time. Its social state advanced more rapidly than that of the Mississippi Valley because of its openness to the sea.

In the session expected to be devoted to Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean it so happened that the program actually carried out consisted of three papers in Mexican history. Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, described the life and the tireless missionary labors of Father Eusebio Kino, basing his narrative on the elaborate account by the father himself, "Favores Celestiales," the manuscript of which Prof. Bolton had discovered in Mexico. Kino's 50 entradas and missionary endeavors in Pimería Alta (southern Arizona and northern Sonora, 1687-1711), his foundation of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and other missions, and the cartographical and industrial results of his labors were well described.



Mr. Herbert J. Priestley, of the same university, presented a valuable paper upon the important subject of the "Reforms of Joseph Gálvez in New Spain," where he spent the years 1769-1775 as the last *visitador general*. The speaker described the character of Gálvez—energetic, independent, vindictive; his instructions from Arriaga; and the financial abuses, of complication, looseness, speculation which he was expected to correct. His reforms, supported by the Marqués de la Croix, and followed up by Bucareli and Revillagigedo, his creation of the *Provincias Internas*, his establishment of the intendency system greatly increased the royal revenues, but his efforts were confined to economic reform, when social and judicial reforms were also sadly needed.

A paper by the chairman of the session, Prof. William R. Manning, of the University of Texas, on "British influence in Mexico and Poinsett's struggle against it," brought this session to its conclusion. The paper, which rested on archival research in both Washington and Mexico, narrated the quasi-diplomatic efforts made by Canning in 1822 and 1823 through confidential agents preceding the appointment of Michelena as minister to Great Britain, the definite resolve of that country to recognize Mexican independence, the arrival of Poinsett, and his efforts to counteract the coolness of the Mexicans toward the United States and the ascendancy of the British representatives.

The first of the papers in Californian history, in a session held at Berkeley, was a paper of personal reminiscence by its chairman, Hon. Horace Davis, on the "Home league of 1861," an organization of California union men formed to bring together Republicans and Democrats in support of the Union and of President Lincoln's administration. Its work consisted in conducting propaganda, organizing a home guard, promoting enlistment, keeping down conspiracy, and especially in striving to elect a war governor (Stanford) who would support Lincoln. After Stanford's election those who sympathized with the Confederacy largely left the State to share the Confederate fortunes.

Next, Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., of Santa Barbara, the historian of the Franciscan missions of California, gave a brief and informal description of the order, of the general objects of its work in California, of its difficulties, of the methods of establishing and maintaining its 16 missions, and of the process of their suppression.

In a paper on the "Northern limits of Drake's voyage," Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, whose recent Hakluyt Society volume of new Drake documents will be remembered, established careful comparisons between noteworthy maps covering his Pacific voyage—the Hakluyt copy

(Paris, 1584) of Drake's great map, made for Henry of Navarre, the Dutch-French map of 1586 in the New York Public Library, a second Dutch map corrected by Drake himself, and Hondius's map and text of 1596, which Hakluyt took over from the Dutch into the 1598 edition of his "Voyages," the only narrative he gives which tells the story of New Albion.

The last paper of this session was one by Prof. William D. Armes, of the University of California, on the "Bear Flag War."

In the New Mexican session, which also took place at Berkeley, Hon. Bradford L. Prince, ex-governor of New Mexico, and president of the New Mexico Historical Society, described its work and collections, and marked the occasion, considered as a meeting of the society, by presenting the diploma of honorary membership to Prof. Bolton and to Mr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California. Mr. Bolton then read a paper entitled "New light on the explorations of Juan de Oñate." After reviewing the sources already familiar, for the most part already in print in the *Colección de Documentos*, he showed that documents of similar class and of equal value lay unprinted in the archives of the Indies at Seville. Of several of these, transcripts are now available at Berkeley, including Oñate's own narrative of his journey of 1601, which, it seems, extended to the regions of southern Kansas (Wichita).

The chairman of the session, Prof. Aurelio M. Espinosa, of Stanford University, then called upon Prof. Altamira, who spoke in Spanish with great eloquence upon the responsibilities, political and moral, of the historian.

Under the title, "New light on the American fur trade in the Southwest," Prof. Thomas M. Marshall, of Stanford University, described, from expedientes found in Sonora and in the City of Mexico, the fur-seeking expedition of Cyril St. Vrain to the Gila River in 1826. Of such expeditions in that region there is little record. They were illicit and largely surreptitious. Gregg did not engage in trade over the Santa Fe trail till 1831, and knew little beyond that later trade in merchandise of which his book gives the classical account. St. Vrain's large expedition, which went into Sonora, mostly for beaver, was the subject of local protest, and of remonstrance to Poinsett.

The last paper of the session was one by Mr. Charles W. Hackett, on the "Causes of the failure of Otermin's attempt to reconquer New Mexico," based on new materials obtained from Mexico and Spain, from the Bancroft Library, and the Peabody Museum. The causes were simply the superiority of numbers on the Indian side, and the want of confidence in success on the part of the Spaniards.

The session concerned with Japan and Australasia was held at Palo Alto, Chancellor Jordan presiding. It was marked by two papers of

capital interest, one by Dr. Naojiro Murakami, president of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and representative of the Japanese Government, and the other by Prof. K. Asakawa, of Yale University. Dr. Murakami's subject was the "Early relations between Japan and Mexico"; his paper was based on personal researches in Seville as well as in Japan. The relations described grew out of commerce with the Philippines, from which annual ships began to come to Japan in 1608. The next year the beaching on the Japanese coast of the *San Francisco*, en route from Cavite to Acapulco, gave Iyeyasu the occasion for beginning relations with Mexico. The sailing of the first Japanese merchant in 1610, on the *San Buena-ventura*, built in Japan by William Adams, had its response in Vizcaino's voyage of exploration to Japan in 1611. Macao and the Jesuits opposed the Philippine-Japanese trade; the Franciscans favored it. The audiencia of the Philippines, on the other hand, opposed the trade between Mexico and Japan. Dr. Murakami described the voyage of the Japanese envoy sent by Masamune in 1613 to the viceroy of Mexico, his progress on to Spain and Rome, his return by way of the Philippines, his arrival in Japan in 1620; and narrated the course of events which made his trans-Pacific intercourse so short lived.

Prof. Asakawa's paper took the audience back into an earlier period of Japanese history, dealing with Japan's early experience with Buddhism. He described with much skill the stages through which Buddhism passed in the first seven centuries after its introduction into Japan: at first, much beyond the mental range of the average votary, emphasizing the moral conduct of the individual and used to promote welfare in a nonspiritual sense; then (ninth to twelfth century) turning at the Kyoto court toward the founding of temples and monasteries and thus toward ritualism, but pursued with better understanding of Buddhist doctrine, until the Kyoto literature was pervaded with it; then the new plan of salvation after the grave, called Zhodo; then, as feudalism increased and the military class came into domination, reaching in the thirteenth century the form called Zen, suited to the needs of such a caste and calling for extreme concentration of mind, energy, and boldness.

For a fuller knowledge of the papers thus briefly summarized recourse must be had to the forthcoming volume, already mentioned. But even these insufficient outlines may serve to show how copious and vivid was the interest of the occasion to those who were so fortunate as to attend, and how abundantly the project of holding a meeting of the association on the Pacific coast was justified by its execution.

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III. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL  
MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CAL., November 26-27, 1915.

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By WILLIAM A. MORRIS,  
*Secretary of the Branch.*



PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL AS-  
SOCIATION.

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The twelfth annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association was held at Leland Stanford Junior University, Friday afternoon and Saturday, November 26 and 27, 1915. The sessions were all in the History Building. The meeting was marked by the prominence given to the interests and problems of history teaching and by an unusual attendance of representative teachers, as well as by a ready participation in the discussions. Much of the success of the meeting was due to the work of the program committee, which consisted of Henry L. Cannon, chairman, assisted by Miss Crystal Harford, Edward McMahon, Louis J. Paetow, and Francis H. White. The president of the branch, Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, presided.

The first speaker at the Friday afternoon session was Prof. Eugene I. McCormac, of the University of California, who read a paper on "Polk's part in the Jackson administration." The purpose of the paper was to show that Polk was not an obscure and unknown person when he was made the presidential candidate in 1844, but that he had borne a leading part in Jackson's attack on the bank, and was widely known as a man of ability and sound judgment.

Before Jackson came out against the bank, so it was shown, many of his chief supporters had been friends of that institution. When he began to threaten the bank, some, like McDuffie, defended it and opposed the President; others for political reasons sided with the President. But Polk had always opposed the bank, and, when a serious struggle became inevitable, Jackson, recognizing Polk's ability as well as his orthodoxy, selected him to conduct the bank war in the House. By the President's request, Polk was made member of the Ways and Means Committee, and in March, 1833, he submitted a minority report against the bank. In it Polk not only condemned the bank but he pointed out that the Executive might reach its abuses without assistance from Congress. In the following September Jackson, acting probably on Polk's suggestion, ordered the deposits to be removed. At the next session Polk was made chairman of this committee and was successful in carrying practically all of the administration measures. As Speaker he won the gratitude of the

Democrats and incurred the undying enmity of the Whigs, but both agreed that he was the ablest parliamentarian that had up to that time presided over the House.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Prof. McCormac, in answer to the question whether Polk's career deserved for him his title, "Polk the Mendacious," said he believed not. Polk's diary he had found honest, when judged by the test of contemporary correspondence, both that of Polk himself and of others. He had never found him guilty of dishonesty. Like politicians, he was sometimes shifty, but was straightforward. It was characteristic of him to say as little as possible but to make his intentions explicit and to abide by them. This does not necessarily give him a halo, but he has suffered much. Polk's age regarded as great only men who were spectacular. He himself, on the other hand, was often careful to have what he did covered up, and often served the part of office lawyer.

To a question in regard to Polk's responsibility for the Mexican War, Prof. McCormac replied that he was responsible for the territory acquired from Mexico but was not deliberately responsible for the war. Here Von Holst, whether intentionally or not, has garbled the correspondence. When war was once begun, however, Polk would make no peace without the territory he wished. The speaker further stated it as his belief that Polk was not interested in the slightest in the extension of slave territory. He was an expansionist.

Prof. Rockwell D. Hunt, of the University of Southern California, was to have read a paper entitled "The birthday of a California pioneer: A sketch of the life and work of Cornelius Cole." He was unable to attend, however, and his paper was sent to the secretary, though it arrived too late to be read at this session.

Cornelius Cole, "forty-niner," Member of Congress, and United States Senator from California, a resident of Los Angeles, now in his ninety-fourth year, is a native of western New York. A graduate of Wesleyan University, he was admitted to the New York bar in 1848, and was for a time in the law office of William H. Seward's firm at Auburn. After a mining experience in California, he became for a decade an attorney at Sacramento, where he numbered among his clients Huntingdon, Hopkins, the Stanfords, and others with whom in 1861 he joined in organizing the Union Pacific Railroad Company of California. As editor of the Sacramento Times he supported Fremont for President in 1856; in 1863 entered Congress as the only straight Lincoln man from California. He was assigned important committee appointments, among others that to the Committee on the Pacific Railroad. Thaddeus Stephens, the chairman, deferred

largely to him and his opinion was freely sought by the other members. Elected to the Senate in 1865, in this position he opposed the efforts of the Union Pacific Co. to acquire from the Government as a traffic terminus Goat Island in San Francisco Harbor. Losing thus the friendship of his former associates, he retired from the company, the opposition of which, combined with that of other interests, defeated him for reelection in 1872.

The concluding paper of the session was by Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, of the University of Washington, who took as his subject "Rudolf Schleiden and the visit to Richmond, April 25, 1861."<sup>1</sup> Schleiden was the representative at Washington of the Hanseatic States. Earnestly bent on averting the civil war which was threatened in the United States, and which would mean the interruption of trade, he hoped for mediation. Lincoln, whom he had approached even before the inauguration, would not authorize negotiations, for he would acknowledge nothing less than the power to govern everywhere. Obtaining from Seward a pass through the Union lines, Schleiden made his way to Richmond, where he found feeling high. He interviewed Vice President Stephens of the Confederacy, and from his attitude as well as that of others quickly became convinced that the situation was hopeless. The paper was concluded by a sketch of Schleiden's subsequent diplomatic activities which had to do with the Civil War.

At the annual dinner, which was held at 7 o'clock at the Women's Clubhouse on the campus, Dr. John Casper Branner, retiring president of Stanford University, presided. The presidential address by Prof. Bolton was on "The mission as a frontier institution of the Spanish Southwest." The political as well as the religious and industrial significance of the mission was clearly brought out, and its part in the life of the Spanish frontier told in a clear-cut and interesting manner.

The college teachers' session, on Saturday morning, began with a paper on "The relation between high-school history and freshman history," by Mrs. Edith Jordan Gardner, late of the Polytechnic High School, Los Angeles. After referring to her invitation to open a discussion on freshman history as a hopeful indication of the favorable attitude of college instructors toward the work which many high-school teachers are doing, the speaker described the teaching and status of history in the secondary schools of Los Angeles. All of these offer ancient history in the ninth year and European history in the tenth year. But two of the eight offer English history in the eleventh year, although it is elected in these schools by many of the best students. American history has become an eleventh-year subject.

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<sup>1</sup>Printed in this volume, pp. 209-216.



The twelfth-year subjects, which are usually half-year courses, include civics, economics, industrial history, sociology, and social problems, at least one of which is required. Teachers in the larger schools of southern California were quoted to the effect that their aim is so to train pupils through supplementary reading, through the habit of thinking, and through the ability to see two sides of a question that they may be able to do effective work in the freshman year in college. It was held that if the high school has dealt too often in generalization when it should have imparted facts and proper study methods, the college has overlooked this deficiency in the preparation of the freshman, who finds himself "in over his head."

The speaker's conclusions were that high schools must have university trained teachers who understand the limited capacity of younger students and who can lead them skillfully toward their college work; that schools must be equipped with well-selected libraries and some illustrative material; that the work of teachers must be carefully supervised; and that the standard of recommendation to the university should be such as to regard favorably only those who are capable of adjusting themselves to college subjects and methods of instruction. It was held, on the other hand, that the college must recognize the difficulty of the student in adapting himself to formal lectures and to a process which continually pours in until examination; that freshmen classes should be organized in such a way as to employ both the method of the high school and that of the college; and that the university must consider the high schools not merely as its feeders but as the colleges of the majority which must of necessity give a variety of courses.

The paper which followed was by Mr. Everett S. Brown and was entitled "Freshman history at the University of California." Mr. Brown described the introductory course at the University of California as one in general history from prehistoric times to the opening of the Panama Canal. The three lectures a week are complemented by one recitation on the lectures of the preceding week. Five assistants are each in charge of six sections a week, the sections averaging between 20 and 25 students each. To acquaint the freshmen with historical literature they are required to make an intensive study of one lecture and each week to make reports on reading.

Statistics covering the past three years and based on reports from a number of freshmen in the course ranging from 570 to 730, the number for the current year, were presented to show the amount of preparatory work done in history. According to these figures the average percentage of those who have taken medieval and modern history is about 60, English history about 40. The figure for ancient history has remained stationary at 82 per cent.; that for the history of the United States at 89 per cent. The three years show a decrease

of 4 per cent. in medieval and modern history and of 3 per cent. in English history. Twenty-nine per cent. of this year's class have had two years of preparatory history, 33 per cent. three years, 18 per cent. four years.

As an indication of the effect of the study of history in the high school upon freshman scholarship, it was shown that of those who last year attained the highest grade in the course, three-fourths had studied the subject at least three years before coming to college. The weaknesses common to freshmen were stated as a lack of adequate knowledge, almost of any knowledge of geography and insufficient powers of organizing subject matter, especially in doing the written work of the classroom.

The last paper of the series, that by Prof. A. B. Show, of Stanford University, was on "present tendencies in the teaching of freshman history." The paper was based in part upon data gathered from 20 colleges and universities. A rather general dissatisfaction was seen to prevail in regard to the work of the high schools; but in the opinion of the speaker the responsibility for poor teaching rests in considerable measure with the college which trains the teacher. Part of the blame rests with chaotic conditions affecting college entrance. False standards no less than poor teaching may explain a high percentage of failure in entrance examinations. Well known college entrance examinations in history predicate an ability far beyond that of the ordinary high school graduate.

Freshman courses should impart sound knowledge, give elementary training in the processes of study and create a taste for such study. English history seems to be preferred to any other single subject, but there is a preponderance of preference for the various courses in continental history. This is due to the fact that the greater number of students in the schools study ancient and American history. Duplication at this point does not mean loss if it brings increase in knowledge and power; but the tendency to give place to European history seems sound and wholesome.

The most pronounced feature of present methods in freshman history was shown to be the decline of the lecture system. The great majority of the more important institutions combine lecture and quiz; scarcely any use the lecture alone. Practically everywhere large classes of freshmen are broken up into quiz sections. Corollaries are the requirement of collateral reading, a considerable amount of written work and the use of a textbook, though usually with a syllabus. Personal conferences have a considerable place in freshman instruction, even in the largest universities. The historical laboratory, now established in two large institutions, seems to be the next big step in college methods. The appointment by the American Historical Association, so it was maintained, of a committee to report on the whole

matter of college teaching would make the experience of each the possession of all and would go far toward the creation of ideal standards.

In leading the discussion the secretary dwelt upon the civic value of high school history arising from comparison of accounts and the ability to form correct conclusions from data gathered from several sources. He held that if history is to fulfill its mission in the schools the vital significance of supplementary reading must be recognized and adequate library equipment provided for the smaller schools. He believed that the tendency to dispense with final examinations in schools or to excuse the better pupils from examinations makes against good training in history and cited the difficulties of bright freshmen within his observation who came from schools where written work was neglected. In conclusion he urged the importance of the course in medieval and modern history to complete the pupil's survey of the history of Western Europe, to rid him of the idea that Rome and the United States sum up all history worth while, and to extend to at least three years the more usual two years at present devoted to the subject during the preparatory period of study.

Prof. A. M. Kline, who was to have continued the discussion, was unable to be present, and his place on the program was taken by Prof. E. D. Adams. Prof. Adams contrasted the liberality of Prof. Show with the spirit of his own student days when the lecture method was regarded as radical and had to make its way against strong opposition. He held thinking, the power to correlative, to be the important point, but could not see the practicability of the historical laboratory. This he considered suitable for historical specialists, but not of value for general purposes.

Continuing the discussion, the president questioned whether high-school teachers can say who is fit to go on with history in college since most historical specialists learned to think in studying some other subject. Miss Harford called attention to the fact that in California the matter of recommending rests not with the teacher, but with the principal. Mrs. Gardner believed that the prevailing practice is to require a certain number of units of school work in which the pupil is recommended, so ability to think is proved for some subject. Prof. Show explained that he advocated the historical laboratory on the principle that the work of students is better when done under the personal direction of the instructor; also that he defended the lecture plus the recitation, not the recitation against the lecture. Father Gleason urged a mastery of method on the part of the young teacher and a study in schools of the whole story of history to give perspective and an understanding of casual relation.

At the business session, which owing to the length of the morning's discussion, was postponed to the opening of the afternoon meeting, the committee on nominations, consisting of E. D. Adams, Levi E. Young, and E. I. McCormac, reported the following nominees: For president, Prof. Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon; for vice president, Prof. Jeanne E. Wier, University of Nevada; for secretary-treasurer, Prof. William A. Morris, University of California. For the council, in addition to the above officers, Miss Jane E. Harnett, Long Beach High School; Prof. Percy A. Martin, Stanford University; Prof. Richard F. Scholz, University of California.

The report of the committee was adopted, the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot, and the persons named in the report were declared elected for the ensuing year.

The auditing committee, Dr. T. M. Marshall, Miss Jane Harnett, and Mr. S. P. McCrea, reported that the accounts of the secretary-treasurer had been inspected and were in good order. On motion the report was adopted.

The committee on resolutions, consisting of the Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, Miss Effie I. Hawkins, and Prof. A. M. Kline, reported as follows:

*Be it resolved*, That the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, in annual session assembled, first express its appreciation of the excellent program offered by the president and officers of this year; and, secondly, formally praise the sincere effort of the program committee to bring out the original investigations of our coast branch members both in the use of sources and in the solution of the great problem of teaching history.

*Resolved*, That we express our grateful appreciation of the hospitality extended by Stanford University on this occasion, and that as an association we tender our best wishes on his retirement to the genial toastmaster of our annual dinner, Dr. Branner, who this year lays down the presidency of the university to enter upon his well-earned liberty.

*Resolved, finally*, That the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association recognize the full educational value of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition now drawing to its close; that we express our appreciation of the good work done by the historical congress assembled by reason of the exposition; that we acknowledge the real interest awakened thereby in obtaining historical perspective; and that we formally voice our gratitude to the joint committee in charge who made it possible to assemble for our benefit so many and such eminent historical scholars.

The resolutions were adopted.

Prof. Show introduced a resolution, which was adopted, to the effect that the Pacific coast branch urge upon the association the expediency of appointing a special committee to investigate the problems of college instruction in history and report upon the same at as early a date as possible.

The secretary gave a report of the members of the council who were in attendance favoring the continuance of the plan of holding the annual meeting at the thanksgiving season and for this reason adverse to the affiliation with the Pacific division of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The report was adopted.

Prof. E. D. Adams was elected the delegate of the Pacific coast branch to attend the meeting of the council of the association at Washington in December. Prof. Adams, as a member of the committee of nine, stated his desire for information or suggestion relative to the proposed reorganization of the association and to related matters now under consideration.

At the opening of the regular session for the afternoon, Mrs. Donald Morgan, of San Diego, gave an address entitled "Archæology for the layman." Referring to the Maya exhibit at the San Diego Exposition and its interest to school children, she held that archæology can give a better understanding of the Mexican people, who are an older and more contemplative people than ourselves. She advocated the study of the subject in schools as a part of American history.

At the conclusion of the address the chairman cited this as an illustration of the continuity of history, and stated that the plan proposed is in harmony with the present tendency in teaching.

Prof. W. Scott Thomas, of the University of California, in a paper on "Teaching as a profession," compared the salaries of the teachers in the schools of California with those of teachers elsewhere. The principal difficulty in placing teachers trained at the university is that young people take up subjects that they like rather than those in demand.

Later during the discussion Prof. Thomas explained that history and English are not so much in demand as the newer subjects and that more teachers are training in history than are needed. In general, while men have little trouble to find places in history, boards of education do not desire women teachers in this branch.

Miss Katherine L. Fields, of the Lodi High School, in speaking on "The relation of the English and the history departments of the high school," held that the two subjects are mutually self-supporting, both dealing with life, imagination, and moral content. They may be related by making courses in English chronological in arrangement, so that the work studied in the class in English bears on the work of the corresponding year in history. English history she claimed to be distinctly essential to the fourth-year work in English. There should be further correlation of the work of the two departments as to composition and also cooperation in debate work.

Prof. Ira B. Cross, of the University of California, in a paper on "Economics in the high school," urged the teaching of this subject in the secondary school. He referred to the surprising ignorance of the ordinary student regarding economic matters. Historians and economists should get close together. History, so he held, should be socialized. In the discussion of the paper Prof. Show agreed that attention should be given to economics in the high school. He stated that the subject will take its place in schools as soon as teachers can be provided. This is the problem of the universities. Prof. Adams held that the college teaching of history is taking account of economic questions and that economic departments have created a fiction in regard to the intellectual value of the subject. They must deal with the situation. Prof. Thomas maintained that history in high schools is taught from a political or institutional and not from an economic point of view. He believed that economics should have a place in the high school.

The chairman announced that the last legislature of California appropriated \$10,000 for the work of an historical survey commission, of which body Hon. John F. Davis is chairman and Mr. Owen C. Coy is secretary, and that the other members of the commission are Prof. Bolton and Mr. J. M. Guinn.

The meeting then adjourned.



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IV. ECONOMIC CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES AND  
WARS IN ANCIENT GREECE.

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By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON.  
*Professor of Ancient History in Harvard University.*

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## ECONOMIC CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES AND WARS IN ANCIENT GREECE.

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By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON.

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I have been asked to open a discussion on the subject of "Economic causes of international rivalries and wars in ancient Greece." This I shall do by first presenting a number of general considerations bearing upon the question and then proceeding to deal with one or two special cases.

Greek thinkers were familiar with the idea that wars arose from what we call economic causes. Plato, for example, in his *Republic* tells how, as his "sound" State is transformed by the growth of luxury into the "fever-stricken" State of real life, its population becomes too large for its territory. "Then," says Socrates, "a slice of our neighbor's land will be wanted by us for pasture and tillage, and they will want a slice of ours if, like ourselves, they exceed the limit of necessity and give themselves up to the unlimited acquisition of wealth. . . . And then we shall go to war, Glaucon; that will be the next thing." "So we shall," he replied. Aristotle is more circumspect than Plato. "The art of war also," he says in his *Politics*, "is in some sense by nature a branch of the art of acquisition, for of the art of war the art of hunting is a part, which ought to be used against both wild animals and such human beings as, being intended by nature to be ruled, refuse to be ruled, seeing that this kind of war is just." Of course Aristotle would prohibit all wars that were contrary to nature and hence unjust, and of their motivation he has nothing to say. The only kinds of offensive wars he would tolerate, accordingly, are the ones that belong in the same category with cattle raising, agriculture, "marine trade, inland trade, and shopkeeping," and the other which has for its object "to seek imperial power, not with a view to universal despotic authority, but for the benefit of the subjects whom we rule." This second kind of war belongs, however, in the domain of politics and not of economics.

There has been a tendency of late in certain circles to reduce the common factors in the occurrence of wars to two—economic forces and a brain-storm. So much truth as well as simplicity lies in this

formula that it may well seem a disservice to the spread of knowledge to question its validity; but, if we believe with Aristotle that there are "kinds of wars which have nothing to do with acquisition," we can not let it pass unchallenged, for the brain-storm of the formula is simply the explosion in which the economic antagonisms issue: it is the outburst of impatience and anger with which the full-grown conflict of farmers and shepherds, traders and bankers, merchants and manufacturers of two or more nations is handed over for settlement to the soldiers, who are now, as in ancient Greece, simply the same antagonists in uniform. On this view of the matter wars are inevitable: they are biological phenomena rather than political.

If, however, we leave to one side the struggle in the East with the kings of the Lydians and Persians and in the West with the Carthaginians and Romans the wars of the ancient Greeks occurred between city-States and other States within Greece itself. There is, of course, nothing of the sort within modern Greece, and its wars and war-producing rivalries are with outside States like Bulgaria, Turkey, Albania, Italy. Are we, therefore, to assume that the economic struggles which, if the formula just stated is correct, forced the cities of Greece into war in ancient times exist no longer; that, for example, the citizens of the Piræus and Patras, which have taken the place of ancient Athens and Corinth, have ceased to be belligerents because they have ceased to clash in their practice of the "art of acquisition"?

That would be, I believe, to assume what is not wholly true. There is, indeed, a difference that is far from negligible between the position of the Greek cities in classic and modern times, in that nowadays the cities have found, and continue to find, their individual spheres of business enterprise by a process of give and take, the animosity of which is lessened by the ability of citizens to move freely from one city to another without impairment of civic rights and to place their investments wherever the prospects of gain are greatest; and, above all, by the facility which exists for them to adjust their conflicts in a central parliament. To note this difference is, however, equivalent to admitting what I believe to be clearly the case, namely, that policy has as much to do with at least some wars as the blind collision of material forces.

If policy enables the once bellicose cities of Greece to preserve the peace, may it not do as much some day for the hostile nations of modern Europe? We may ask this question pertinently because, after making allowances for the outstanding fact that the country has taken the place of the city, the State system of Greece in the fifth century B. C. shows many striking parallels with the European State system of yesterday. Indeed, it may well be that the past has no

more complete analogy. In each case religion, race, culture, customs, and identity of linguistic ancestry bound the whole world together, but these ties were as nothing when subjected to the disruptive power of national fanaticism. The national attitude of mind was in each case so well cultivated by economic and political organization and by historical and literary traditions; it was so intensified by continual clashings of national interests, by fears for self-preservation, and by aspirations for dominance, that the international attitude of mind, though far from lacking in either instance, was relatively powerless. In both epochs two great alliances, by their very existence, threatened to fan a fire that might break out at any point into a general conflagration. The modern issues—balance of power, freeing small States, the maintenance of liberal institutions, the freedom of the seas, the rights of neutrals, the expediency and iniquity of dreadfulness, financial strength *vs.* military efficiency, sea power *vs.* land power, the strategy of exhaustion—would have been appreciated by Thucydides and his contemporaries without a word of explanation; for all of them were raised in their age also. The part played by economic rivalries in bringing on the present war is generally recognized, though it is very differently appraised. What rôle did they play in precipitating the Peloponnesian War?

We can answer this question only by investigating the general causes of that great struggle. In our ancient authorities two divergent versions of the affair can be distinguished. The earliest of these traces the conflict to the aggressiveness of Athens, and, specifically, to an Athenian decree passed on the motion of Pericles in 433-432 B. C., which excluded the Megarians "from the harbors in the Athenian Empire and from the Attic market contrary to the treaty" of 446 B. C. As interpreted by contemporaries, this version implied a despicable attempt on Pericles's part to avenge a private grievance against the Megarians or to divert attention from his unpopular and discredited management of domestic affairs. The second version is that of Thucydides. He affirms with emphasis the scrupulous integrity of Pericles and the complete trust that the Athenians reposed in him. The real, though unavowed, cause of the war was, he insists, the "fear of the Lacedæmonians at the growing power of Athens." This was intensified to the point of military intervention by the admission of Corcyra to the Athenian Confederacy. The occasion of the struggle was, accordingly, the decision of Athens to take Corcyra under its protection, notwithstanding the fact that Corcyra was at war with Corinth at the time; for that meant that Athens also was thenceforth at war with Corinth and that Sparta was bound to come to the support of her ally. All that followed thereafter, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, was merely

the jockeying for position. On Thucydides's version the Megarian decree was, accordingly, what he makes Pericles call it, "a trifling matter," and he disdains to tell us its why and wherefore.

In a very ingénious and interesting book entitled "Thucydides Mythistoricus," Mr. Cornford, some eight years ago, while maintaining the thesis that the blockade of Megara was the crux of the whole matter, described this violation of the treaty of 446 B. C. as the culmination of a harsh policy of commercial expansion forced on Pericles and Athens by the traders in the Piræus; and in the same policy he found the ground of Athens's resolve to rescue Corcyra. This being the case, we have simply to keep in mind that, like all other Greek historians from Herodotus to Polybius, Thucydides was, so to speak, economic blind, and his failure to perceive that the Peloponnesian War was but the military phase of an old commercial struggle becomes immediately intelligible.

This construction breaks down at many points, especially where it ascribes to the traders in the Piræus a capacity to think economically which it denies to Thucydides; and, as a matter of fact, not the capacity, but the integrity of the historian is in question when the center of gravity is shifted from the Corcyrean to the Megarian incident—from the occasion when Corinth was unyielding to the occasion where the provocation came from Athens. We have, however, no reason to doubt the integrity of Thucydides, and we may, I think, continue to believe that the real crisis of the controversy that precipitated the Peloponnesian War is to be found in the Corcyrean incident.

Wherein, now, did the seriousness of this incident lie? The view of Thucydides is indicated clearly enough in the speeches that he reproduces in the narrative, and which are, so to speak, the diplomatic documents of that war. In them, as in the diplomatic documents of the present war, almost nothing is said of economic antagonisms. What was uppermost in men's minds was, it appears, the upsetting of the balance of power in Greece, which was bound to ensue should Corinth, by yielding under defeat to Corcyra, or Athens, by rejecting a proffered alliance under Peloponnesian intimidation, lose its bulwark of prestige; or, on the opposite pair of assumptions, should Corinth by coercing Corcyra, or Athens by accepting its alliance, add to its own fleet the second navy in all Hellas and to its dependencies an island situated strategically on the main highway to and from Italy and Sicily.

The crisis that arose the moment Corinth refused to arbitrate its Epidamnian quarrel with Corcyra involved inevitably, on Eduard Meyer's construction of the situation, all Greece, just as, to cite an analogy in Meyer's style but not the one that he would cite, the crisis

which arose when Austria refused to submit its Servian quarrel with Russia to the conference à *quatre* involved inevitably all Europe. For the local fire to become a general conflagration only the pre-existent division of Greece into two great camps was needed. The distinguished German historian accordingly parts company at this point with his Greek predecessor, who, as we have seen, ascribes the ultimate responsibility for the catastrophe to the fear of the Lacedæmonians at the growing power of Athens. Such a fear, Meyer affirms, could not have existed before the Corcyrean incident arose, seeing that the power of Athens had been ebbing, not growing, since the establishment of the Periclean democracy in 460 B. C. Writing in 1899, he says:

Certainly there existed in Sparta, as well as in Corinth, especially among the youth, a strong sentiment for war, and the same was the case in the entire Peloponnesus. Its reasons are well known. The propagandist character of Attic democracy, which was bound to exert everywhere a seductive and unsettling influence even when the government of Attica held itself completely aloof, and which was precisely paralleled by the way in which all the dissatisfied elements in the Athenian Empire looked hopefully toward Sparta; the contrast in mode of life, education, and military training which led the Peloponnesian soldiers, brought up as they were under a stern discipline, to look down with contempt on the "sailor rabble" of Attica; and, above all, the natural antipathy of a population of peasants and nobles for a nation of merchants and shopkeepers by whom they felt that they were being everywhere enslaved and exploited economically. It is the same antagonism which has arisen in our century among all the continental nations of Europe and America against the English.

The analogy thus adduced is a helpful one, particularly in view of what has happened since the time of the Boer War; for when the animosity that then existed in the world against England, notwithstanding that it was based on the deep-seated antitheses enumerated by Meyer, has given way within fifteen years to a general hostility toward Germany, we are able to see how transitory are feelings of this character, how independent they are of economic changes, and how overmastering is the sentiment of fear at the growing power of a rival coalition to which Thucydides attributes the resolution of the Lacedæmonians to strike before it was too late. To Meyer's objection that the power of Athens was in reality ebbing, not growing, we can easily respond, in the first place, that if Thucydides was deceived by outward appearances, the Spartans may have been deceived also, and, in the second place, that there are many reasons for thinking that they were both right. For the losses in outlying dependencies, and even in prestige, sustained by Athens after 446 B. C. must have weighed light in the balance against the political and economic consolidation of the empire that occurred during the period of peace. The changes that the mere duration of the empire entailed in the

organization of business within its territory—to fasten our attention on the thing that concerns us most here—could only be appreciated and understood after they had been reproduced in many different quarters in later times; but their significance can be grasped by us when it is recalled that then for the first time in Greek experience were obliterated the obstacles imposed by nature and policy on the regular distribution of goods between a large number of progressive communities, which obstacles had made it impossible thitherto for any one city to reduce a large territory and a considerable number of other cities to permanent commercial and industrial dependence upon itself. Even without governmental coercion, but much more rapidly with it, the metropolis drew, as by a magnet, the business of its world to itself; and simultaneously with the growth of Athens in wealth, industry, and population the “thousand” cities of the empire declined. Their trade fell off, and their local mints were one by one closed. Their most enterprising citizens migrated to Athens to engage in business there. Citizens and residents of Athens invested money in their lands and sought to control such of their local enterprises as were profitable. The economic centralization was doubtless inevitable, and later on, with the substitution of large territorial for small urban states in the Macedonian age, the process was repeated; but it was accelerated, perhaps unwisely, by monopolistic laws and regulations issued by the Athenian government. Every man could see the waxing prosperity of Athens, its buoyant revenues, its restless enterprise, and the blight that fell simultaneously upon many islands and maritime cities. Small wonder, therefore, that Sparta, as well as Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, and Bœotia, viewed the spectacle with apprehension.

Grundy bases the fear of the Peloponnesians too narrowly, I believe, when he makes it concern the gradual establishment of Athenian control over the import of cereals, and has the Corcyrean question turn on the disaster that would befall them should Athens cut off their Sicilian supply of grain as she had already cut off that from Egypt and Pontus. Zimmern, on the other hand, seems to me to disparage the substantial character of political strife when he affirms that “the forces which all Greece saw to be making for a great war were sentimental rather than material; they concerned honor rather than trade or riches.”

In the passage already quoted from Aristotle’s *Politics* the founder of political science alludes to wars waged in the quest of “imperial power with a view to a universal despotic authority.” Under that heading comes the greatest struggle of the age of the Diadochi—that carried on by Antigonos I with the other generals of Alexander the Great. On the other hand, we have from this same period an instance of a war waged purely on commercial grounds—that by which

Rhodes forced Byzantium in 220 B. C. to remove all restrictions on traffic passing through the Bosphorus. Lack of time forbids me, however, to dwell on these or other Hellenistic instances. I must, however, examine the circumstances of at least one further struggle in order that the conclusions which I shall formulate may not seem to rest on one case only; and I have chosen for such special notice the causes of the war that led in 395 B. C. to the first collapse of the Spartan hegemony in Greece.

Of these we have also two versions, both again contemporary or approximately so. One is given by Xenophon, and the other, as I now believe, by Ephorus. According to Xenophon, the attack which Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and Athens made upon the Spartans, while the Spartans were trying to save the Asiatic Greeks from falling into the hands of Tissaphernes, was instigated everywhere, except in Athens, by men who had been bribed by Tithraustes to further the interests of Persia. The Athenians, it seems, needed nothing but their desire to recover their empire to explain their action. By slanderous accusations these politicians first roused hatred against the Lacedæmonians. Then their representatives in Thebes started the war by inciting the Opuntian Locrians to encroach upon some land that was eternally in dispute between them and the Phocians; whereupon the Phocians invaded Locris, the Thebans invaded Phocis, Sparta gladly seized the opportunity to attack the Thebans, to whose assistance the Athenians, Corinthians, and Argives came, as it had been arranged by the Persians.

This version, to which Plutarch alludes when he makes Agesilaus say that the Great King drove him from Asia with 10,000 "golden archers," and which is obviously the official Spartan account of the affair, Ephorus controverts at some length. The money was, indeed, sent over to Greece—by Pharnabazus, however, and not by Tithraustes—and distributed among the political leaders within the cities, Athens included; but these men were long since hostile to Sparta and bent on bringing on a war. Their reasons were in general that the Spartans treated their opponents in domestic politics as friends; but the Athenians among them, Epicrates and Cephalus, wanted to put an end to their country's inactivity and to have it embark on a policy of adventure in order that they might themselves get a chance to draw money from the public treasury. In Athens, where Sparta was now altogether without friends, they had the masses with them, and these in fact were kept from breaking loose in the preceding winter only by the prompt intervention of Thrasybulus and others, who, by dwelling upon the magnitude of the risk, gave the victory in the ecclesia to the moderate and propertied elements that wanted peace. In Bœotia, on the other hand, the masses did not come at all in question. The constitution put the State in



the hands of the propertied classes. The enemies, like the friends, of Sparta among the political leaders there, were aristocrats, and the former turned towards Athens, not because they *atticized* or had any sympathy with the institutions or aspirations of Athens, but simply because they needed its support against Sparta. They had taken the control both in Thebes and in the federal council of the Bœotians from their adversaries, who had been in power during the whole course of the Deceleian War, a little before 395 B. C. In that year by a peculiarly devious intrigue they stirred up a war between the western Locrians and the Phocians, in which they persuaded the Bœotians to support the Locrians, while Sparta reluctantly supported the Phocians; whereupon Athens, Corinth, and Argos broke loose, and the fat was in the fire.

So far as Athens is concerned the version of Xenophon harmonizes easily with that of Ephorus; her enmity and ultimate clash with Sparta were due to hope of regaining her lost empire, which for the populace and its leaders meant the expenditure to their advantage of tribute, and, consequently, participation in more ample revenues. They wished to become again the well-paid protectors, judges, and managers of the Aegean Greeks. Their motive for acquiring an empire, and hence for war with Sparta, was, accordingly, an economic one. They wanted to get the profits of the governing business which the Lacedæmonians had violently diverted to their own pockets. For the moderate and propertied elements, on the other hand, whose leader, Thrasybulus, finally made the decisive motion for war, an imperialism, less mercenary and more political and idealistic, is to be assumed.

As for Bœotia, Corinth, and Argos, on the other hand, the rôle ascribed by Xenophon to the "golden archers" is in flat contradiction with what he himself tells us of the estrangement between these States and Sparta that manifested itself within twelve months of the fall of Athens. Nor does Ephorus reach the bottom of the matter when he traces their attack on Sparta to the fact that Sparta was supporting the opposition faction in each case against the established government. We need to have it explained further why it was that "a little before" 395 B. C. the majority of the citizens abandoned the Spartan faction and put the anti-Spartan faction in power. "It is a general rule," says Aristotle, "that feuds among the upper classes involve the state as a whole in their effects." And, indeed, in this case there is a strong likelihood that the anti-Spartan nobles in Thebes dragged the Bœotians into the war against their will. Looked at from this point of view, the war of 395 B. C. was simply the transference to a larger area of factional struggles that raged

theretofore within Boeotia, Corinth, and Argos. These, however, are specially described as non-economic in character, at least, in Boeotia.

On the other hand, every modern historian has seen at a glance what Xenophon's bias in favor of Sparta and Ephorus's obsession with the class wars of his age prevented them from seeing, that once Athens was crushed, Sparta's power, as wielded by Lysander, by its very menace to liberty and autonomy, forced Corinth, Thebes, and Argos to entrust their destinies to the leaders opposed to Sparta; and that these leaders, perceiving that they could afford neither to let Sparta triumph in Asia nor to miss the opportunity of using Persia's army, fleet, and subsidies for redressing the balance of power in Greece, judged the occasion opportune for war.

To conclude, there were many different causes of war in ancient Greece. Each nation was a complex of ideas as well as of men; of hopes, fears, and memories, as well as of desires; of customs, as well as of institutions; yet through all the nations live wires of internationalism ran, transmitting both war and peace. There were as many possibilities of wars as there were points of contact. They fought for land; they fought for trade; they fought to gratify the vanity or ambition of leaders or kings, and they fought to gratify their own pride; they fought through fear and they fought for revenge. They never fought, I think, because they liked fighting. "War," says an anonymous pamphleteer, "is conceded to be the greatest of all evils by as much as peace is the greatest of all blessings. Yet *stasis*, or civil war, as far exceeds war in the magnitude of its evil as war exceeds peace." We may group the causes of wars as psychological, or the clash of ideas and wills; as political, or the clash of customs, institutions, and ambitions; and as economic, or the clash of material interests and needs; or we may group them in some other way. But we have still to determine the relative weight of each group in each individual instance. To the economic factor in Greek warfare I should like to refer what Hippocrates says of the divine in the case of the Scythian disease: "To me also," says the great physician, "this ailment seems to be of divine origin, and similarly all the other diseases, none more divine than others, nor yet more human, but all divine. Every disease, however, has its natural causes, and without natural causes there happens nothing whatsoever."



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V. EAST GERMAN COLONIZATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

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## EAST GERMAN COLONIZATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES.<sup>1</sup>

By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

German eastward expansion, from the time of the first manifestation of the eastward swing in the eighth century to the termination of the great movement when the last energy spent its force in the conquests of the Teutonic Knights in the morasses of Kurland and Esthonia, advanced in a series of waves whose lengths are measured by the distance between the rivers of northern Europe. The time element, however, in this immense expansion was not always or even nearly uniform. The current moved now slow, now fast. Three times the Germans crossed the lower Elbe and three times were thrown back by the Wends—in 983, 1018, and 1066. It was over two hundred years before the Saxons utterly broke the power of the Slavonic tribes situated between the Elbe and the Oder, before they acquired a permanent foothold in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg. At the end of the *Völkerwanderung* the Slavonic western edge rested on the lower Elbe and the Saale rivers.<sup>2</sup> The Slav world between the eighth and the twelfth century was of huge extent. A line drawn from the mouth of the Elbe to the head of the Adriatic would roughly mark its western boundary.<sup>3</sup>

In general, until the conquest of the Saxons by Charlemagne in the last quarter of the eighth century shook Germany and the Slavonic tribes as no force had since the Great Migration, the relations

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<sup>1</sup> A reviewer of Von der Goltz's *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft* in *Journal of Political Economy*, XII (1903-4), p. 114. said, apropos of the history of German east colonization: "It is but characteristic of the ignorance of this period prevailing in America that a work on colonization issued some years ago and pretending to treat of every phase connected with colonization at all periods contained not a word about this very important movement, to which the present German Empire so largely owes its existence."

<sup>2</sup> In Charlemagne's time there were certainly no great masses of Germanic peoples east of the Elbe and Saale. But Plattner, in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* (XVII, 409-520; XVIII, 629-631; XX, 185-202), has raised the question whether isolated fragments of German stock did not still remain in the east, not participating in the westward migration. His contentions are combated by Wendt: *Ueber die Nationalität der Bevölkerung der deutschen Ostmarken vor dem Beginne der Germanisierung*, Göttingen, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> Adam of Bremen (II, 18), in the eleventh century pretty accurately indicated the area of the western Slavs: "*Sclavania igitur—decies major esse fertur quam nostra Saxonia, præsertim si Bœmiam et eos trans Oddaram sunt Polanos, quia nec habitu nec lingua discrepant, in partem adjeceris Sclavianæ. . . . Ejus latitudo est a meridie usque in boream, hoc est ab Albia fluvio usque ad mare Scythicum. Longitudo autem illa videtur, quæ initium habet ab nostra Hammaburgensi parrochia et porrigitur in orientem, infinitis aucta spatiis, usque in Beguariam, Ungriam et Græciam.*" By "*Beguariam*" Adam undoubtedly means *Bulgariam*, not *Bavariam*, as Pertz, *Archiv.*, III, 658, thinks. One MS. reads "*Bulgariam*," and the sense so requires.

between the Germans and the Slavs were amicable. Boniface's missionary labors were peacefully pursued among the Slavs of the Main. A Wendish peasantry cleared the lands around Fulda, and Slavonic colonies were established by Boniface in the territory of the future diocese of Bamberg, where they worked the mines and raised cattle. Some such Slav colonists were even settled in Swabia as far over as the Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

We can fix the time of the change in the relation of the two races with precision. By 800 the "Drang nach Osten" of the German people was in full swing. It was an irrepressible conflict in which race supremacy, religion, language, trade, customs, and land to live in were the issues. On the part of the Germanic people the struggle became a gigantic series of missionary campaigns and colonizing conquests protracted through centuries. Monk missionaries penetrated the Slavonic wilderness bent on peaceable or compulsory conversion of the Wends, and the sword of a semi-theocratic kingship was stretched out to protect or avenge the priests whom the Wends slew or expelled. But back of the enmity of race and religion was the fierce land hunger of both peoples fighting for fields to till in order to feed millions of mouths whose hunger it was hard to satisfy in the primitive conditions under which agriculture was then practiced.<sup>2</sup>

The eastward drift of the German peoples, intimations of which are observable in the sixth century, and which by 800 had become a definite trend,<sup>3</sup> was powerfully influenced by the slow economic, especially agrarian, revolution which took place in Frankish Gaul and the Rhinelands in the seventh and eighth centuries. The increase

<sup>1</sup> Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte* (3d revised edition, 1906), p. 345; Riedel, *Der Mark Brandenburg*, II, p. 10, notes 10-11; Lavisse, *La marche de Brandebourg*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For detail, see Joh. Müller, *Frankenkolonisation auf dem Eichfelde*, pp. 12-13; Meitzen, *Siedlung und Agrarwesen*, II, pp. 401-406; Lamprecht, III, pp. 311-365. Absolute statistics are, of course, impossible as to population in the Middle Ages. But modern scholars have made some relative determinations. In Carolingian times favorable regions, like the valley of the Moselle, seem to have had a fairly dense population. Indeed, along rivers which were important highways of trade the place names seem to have been more numerous then than now, particularly along the Meuse. In late Merovingian times and down to the invasions of the Northmen, between the Seine and the Rhine the density of population is estimated to have been as much as 300 per square mile. The population of the East Frank kingdom, i. e. Germany, in late Carolingian times, is estimated to have been from 2½ to 3 millions. It certainly increased under the Saxon rule and probably was between 3 and 3½ millions; the Franconian period (1024-1125), in spite of the civil war in the reign of Henry IV, was one of great economic prosperity for Germany, and the population may have been 5 to 6 millions by the beginning of the twelfth century. In Frederick Barbarossa's time it probably was between 7 and 8 millions. At the accession of the Saxon house in 919 there were not over 30 towns of any size in Germany; at the end of the Franconian period (1125) there were above 150. In the ninth and tenth century not over 1 to 2 per cent dwelt in towns; in late Franconian times (1075-1125) from 3 to 5 per cent were town people. Consult: R. Kötzschke, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgesch.* bis zum 17. Jahrhundert, 1908, pp. 50-52; Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung Europas im Mittelalter*, *Zeitschrift f. Soz. u. Wirtschaftsgesch.*, III, 417 f.; G. Caro, *Zur Bevölkerungsstatistik der Karolingerzeit*, in his *Beiträge*, p. 38 f.; Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, I, 181 f.; Inama Sternegg, *D. W. G.*, I, 514 f.; II, 29 f.; Curschmann, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter*, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Kötzschke, pp. 47 and 110.

of the benefice system, the extension of the manorial régime, the adoption of more intensive agricultural methods, in particular on the manors of the fisc and of the church, slowly tended to depress the small free farmer into the condition of a tenant or a serf upon his own lands, the proprietorship of which passed from him to some adjacent noble or high cleric; or else the changing order of things ejected him from his ancestral holding and made him a homeless wanderer—a *homo migrans*. The small landowner could not compete with the grand proprietor in the economic and social transformation which was in process in these years.<sup>1</sup>

Dobbert, in his excellent monograph upon the *missi dominici* has well said that—

We have abundant evidence of the grasping character of the Frankish grandees. We see their unceasing attempts to aggrandise themselves at the expense either of the emperor or of the still existing remains of the free commonalty. . . . It was the *missi* who alone could battle against these tendencies. . . . We have, perhaps, to thank the institution of the *missi* for the fact that the poor independent freeholder did not disappear even sooner than was actually the case.

The legislation of Charlemagne's late years is very luminous as to this condition of things. The *Capitulare Langobardicum* in 803 runs in part:

We hear that the officers of the counts and some of their more powerful vassals are collecting rents and insisting on forced labors, harvesting, plowing, sowing, stubbing up trees, loading wagons and the like, not only from the church's servants (i. e., on beneficia granted by the church), but from the rest of the people; all which practices must be stopped, because in some places the people have been in these ways so grievously oppressed that many, unable to bear their lot, have escaped by flight from their masters or patrons, and the lands are relapsing into wilderness.

In the *Capitulare de expeditone exercitali*, published at Aachen in 811, Charlemagne laments that—

The poor complain that they are being thrust out from their property and that quite as much by the bishops and abbots and their *advocati* as by the counts and their *centenarii*. They say that if a poor man will not give up his property to the bishop, abbot, or count, these great men make some excuse for getting him into trouble with the courts or else are continually ordering him on military service till the wretched man, quite ruined, has to surrender or sell his property. At the same time his neighbor who has surrendered his property (and thus become a serf instead of a freeman) is allowed to remain at home unmolested.

<sup>1</sup> E. Dobbert, Ueber das Wesen und den Geschäftskreis der Missi Dominici, Heidelberg, 1861 (at end). This reference and the extracts from the capitularies are cited by Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders: The Frankish Empire, VIII, pp. 297-299. The *Paroensis ad Judices* [Exhortation to Judges] of Theodulph graphically shows the temptations to official corruption which beset the Missi Dominici. See the long extract in Guizot, Civilization in France, Lect. 23, pp. 60-64.



As a result the dispossessed and evicted turned to the forests for refuge, there to carve out a clearing in the wilderness and to establish a new home.<sup>1</sup> The forest was the poor man's home.

Dem richen walt es lützel schadet,  
Ob sich ein man holze ladet.

But the coil of private ownership gradually wound itself around the forests, too. Traces of the intrusion of private proprietorship upon the forests appear in the Burgundian and the Visigothic codes. The forests of the Vosges began to be appropriated in the time of Gregory of Tours (circa 600), those of the Ardennes by the early seventh century. In Charlemagne's time the upper Mosel, the Sieg, and the lower Main began to be penetrated by private claims. The early years of the reign of Louis the Pious witnessed such wholesale seizure of forest tracts by private proprietors that the emperor cancelled the titles to all forest holdings of a private nature established without express authorization.<sup>2</sup>

In order to escape from the pressure imposed upon him by the increase in the number and the extent of these great landed estates, both lay and clerical, west of the Rhine and in the Middle Rhinlands, the small landowner and the dispossessed freeman tended to drift eastward into the upper Main and Bavaria, where land was freer and the population less dense along the border. The conquest of Saxony does not seem to have been followed immediately by any considerable immigration into the region from points farther west.

<sup>1</sup> "Freilich spielte daneben der Wildbruch im Walde bereits eine immer grössere Rolle; in der Vordergrund aber trat er erst nach voller Sesshaftmachung des Volkes, seit etwa dem 5. bis 6. Jahrhundert. Seitdem ziehen Generationen auf Generationen nachgeborener Söhne in den Urwald und sengen und roden. Das 7. bis 9. Jahrhundert sah einen ersten grossen Ausbau des Landes hinein in die unerschöpflichen Bestände der Bergwälder. . . . Im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert war vor allem der Gemeinfreie Träger der Waldsiedelung gewesen; in genossenschaftlichem Verbande hatten die jungen Männer der Volkes ein neues Heim in den Tiefen der Waldtäler gesucht." Lamprecht, III, 53. Cf. Kotschke, p. 47, the last paragraph. For detailed exposition of the economic transformation set forth in this paragraph, see Von der Goltz, *Gesch. der deutschen Landwirtschaft*, I, pp. 93-98; Inama Sternegg, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgesch.*, I, pp. 246 ff.; Arnold, *Deutsche Gesch.*, II, 2, pp. 44, 100-109.

<sup>2</sup> *Lex Visigoth.*, VIII, 3, 8; *Lex Burg.*, XIII (M. G. Leges, III, 538), LXVII (ibid., p. 561). For the Vosges, see Hillman, *Deutsche Finanzgeschichte des Mittelalters*, pp. 249-250; Petit du Taillis, *De la signification du mot "Forêt" à l'époque franque*, Bib. de l'École d. Chartes, jan.-avril, 1915, pp. 118-119; for the Ardennes, Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben*, I, pp. 93 ff.; II, p. 626; Petit du Taillis, loc. cit., pp. 112-117. In 648 Sigbert of Austrasia granted the monastery of Stablo a tract 12 miles square in *vasta Ardenna*, which Childerich II reduced to 6 miles in 667. Inama Sternegg, *D. W. G.*, I (2 ed., 1909), p. 283 and note 3. Karlmann in 774 gave Fulda a tract measuring 4,000 paces each way. Ibid., I, p. 284, note 2; in 779 Hersfeld possessed a forest 2 miles in circumference. Ibid., I, 284, note 2; in 811 and 813 two Frank nobles owned tracts 2 miles long and 2 miles broad in the Ardennes. Ibid., I, 284, note 6. For interpretation of the terminology of the forest in the Middle Ages, see Wiener, *Commentary to the Germanic Codes*, pp. 98 ff. In general see Von der Goltz; *Gesch. der deutschen Landwirtschaft*, I, pp. 139-140; Roscher, *System der Volkswirtschaft*; *Nationalökonomik des Ackerbaues und der verwandten Urproduktion*, 11th edit., 1885, sect. 191; Schröder, *Die Ausbreitung der Salischen Franken-Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XIX, p. 139 f.; Maury, *Les Forêts de la France* (1856), ch. 6. For Charle-

But the destruction of the Avar kingdom by Charlemagne led to a large influx of both Bavarians and Slavs from the upper Main into Pannonia and the Riedmark.<sup>1</sup> So also in the tenth century the depopulation of Bavaria by the Magyars induced Swabian colonization of the country after 955, when Otto I had broken the Magyar power.<sup>2</sup>

Dopsch justly makes the point that in all likelihood the eastern colonization movement of the German people was relatively as strong in the ninth century as later. It differed chiefly in direction, being toward the southeast instead of the northeast, and was more exclusively aristocratic and clerical in its nature than the colonization movement of the twelfth century, which was largely a popular wave. If the sources for the reigns of Ludwig the German and Arnulf were proportionately as full as those of the Franconian and Hohenstaufen period there is little doubt that the continuity of the history of German eastward colonization would clearly appear from the time of Charlemagne onward.<sup>3</sup> No contemporary writer has left us an account of the early history of the Babenbergers in Austria as Widukind and Adam of Bremen have written the history of the Billunger in Saxony. The stages by which the great Bohemian forest and the Riedmark were settled by German colonists are very obscure.<sup>4</sup> But it is certain that after the terror of the Magyars

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magne's liberal legislation, see Cap. de Villis, §36 (with the notes of Gareis, *Die Landgüterordnung Kaiser Karls d. Gr.*, pp. 44-45); Cap. Aquisgran, § 18; cf. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, I, p. 175; Arnold, *Ansiedelungen und Wanderungen*, p. 241 f. For the legislation of Louis the Pious, see Cap. 818-819, § 7 in Boretius, I, p. 288; Cap. Missorum (819) §22, *Ibid.*, I, p. 291; cf. *Mélanges Bémont*, p. 63. Petit du Taillis, *loc. cit.*, p. 134, makes the point that:

"La signification constante du mot 'forêt' dans les capitulaires permet d'affirmer que les forêts créés par des particuliers, dont parle Louis le Pieux, étaient des réserves de chasse, ou de pêche, et l'ordre d'abolir les forêts nouvellement instituées, en prouvant qu'il y avait d'autres forêts privées, de fondation ancienne, auxquelles Louis le Pieux ne voulait pas toucher, nous reporte au moins au viii<sup>e</sup> siècle."

We have no information on private forests at this early period. The increasing curtailment of the right to use the forest was a continuous grievance of the mediæval peasantry. Jonas, bishop of Orleans in the ninth century, voiced their protest in a treatise entitled *De Institutione laicali*, Bk. II, ch. 23:

"Deus in commune mortalibus ad utendum concessit, pauperes a potentioribus spoliuntur, flagellantur, ergastulis detruduntur et multa alia patiuntur. Hoc ut justo Ibramine decernant utrum lex mundi legem evacuare Christi debeat, necne." Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.*, CVI, col. 215.

<sup>1</sup> "Cœperunt populi sive Sclavi vel Bagoarii inhabitare terram, unde illi expulsi sunt Huni." *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, ch. 10. M.G.H.SS., XI, p. ii, M. G. Form., 318, 5. Dopsch, I, p. 174; Kämmler, *Die Anfänge deutschen Lebens in Österreich*, p. 239 f.; Inama Sternegg, D. W. G., I, pp. 280, 438. The historically impossible Life of St. Emmeran (who is said to have lived in the seventh century in Bavaria), by Aribio, actually reflects Bavaria when it began to be colonized after the fall of the Avars. The cosy description of the resources and the beauty of the country is remarkable. Cf. Gengler, *Beiträge*, I, p. 40; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, VII, pp. 71-72.

<sup>2</sup> Budinger, *Österr. Gesch.*, p. 161; Kötzschke, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgesch.*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Dopsch, *Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, I, pp. 174-175; cf. Inama Sternegg, pp. 280-281; D. W. G., I, pp. 245, 290-297.

<sup>4</sup> See Hasenöhrl, *Deutschlands südöstliche Marken in X., XI., XII. Jahrhundert* (*Archiv für Oesterr. Gesch.*, vol. 82, p. 419 f.). The maps are very valuable.

subsided there was a steady influx of settlers through the whole Saxon and Franconian epoch. The peaceful nature of this colonization, owing to the fact that it was practically an empty country (for there were few Wends there to oppose the German incomers as in the northeast) gave its history no striking events such as happened in Nordalbingia and Brandenburg.<sup>1</sup>

We must visualize material Germany in the ninth and tenth centuries under two very different aspects. "Old" Germany, or western Germany—that is, the valley of the Rhine and the upper Danube—was well peopled and agriculturally prosperous. As early as 843 the Rhinelands were famous *propter vini copiam*.<sup>2</sup> In these regions lay cities whose history harked back to Roman times, such as Mainz, Worms, Speyer, in Franconia; Cologne, Trier, Verdun, in Lorraine; Utrecht, in Friesland; Strasburg and Constance, in Swabia; and Augsburg, on the Lech. Mainz was the commercial capital of Germany until the eleventh century, when Cologne outstripped her.<sup>3</sup> At Mainz the trade routes up the Danube and from Lombard Italy, converged, bearing a commerce which was far from negligible long before the Crusades.<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy, too, that most of the estates of the Carolingian fisc lay within these regions.<sup>5</sup>

"New" Germany, on the other hand, or eastern Germany, was far more backward in material development and less densely populated. Bavaria, though colonized in the first half of the eighth century through the energy of Boniface, had been twice devastated—by the

<sup>1</sup> Inama Sternegg, D. W. G., II (2 ed., 1909), p. 8.

In 869 the Bohemians and Moravians under Swatopluk invaded Bavaria; the Sorben and Sushl—kindred to the Sorben and living on the Mulde—penetrated into Thuringia, whence they were expelled by a joint Thuringian and Saxon army. Ludwig the German's two sons, Charles (the Fat) and Karlmann, drove Swatopluk back. Cf. Annals of Fulda, Annals of St. Vaast and Regino, 869; Dümmler, Ostfränkische Reich, I, 714 ff.; Riezler, I, 217 ff. The critical years on the eastern border were 871–872, 874, 880, 892–893, 898. The Hungarians settled on both sides of the Theiss River in 896. For details, see Richter, Annalen der deutschen Gesch., for the years concerned.

<sup>2</sup> In the treaty of Verdun "Hludovico . . . orientalia (sc. regna cesserunt) scilicet omnis Germania usque Rheni fuenta et nonnullæ civitates cum adjacentibus pagis trans Rhenum propter vini copiam." Regino 842. On wine-growing in Rhineland see Lamprecht, D. W. L., I, pp. 565–567; Düntzner, Der Weingau in römischen Gallien und Germanien; Bonner, Jahrb., II, p. 9 f.; Pauls, Zur Gesch. des Weinbaues handels und -verkehrs in der Aachener Gegend (Zeitschrift d. Aachener Gesch.-Verein, VII, p. 179 f.; Lamprecht, loc. cit., II, pp. 54–56, gives tabular statements of local production by centuries). Thuringia was famous for swine, hemp, and wool. Hops were cultivated everywhere.

<sup>3</sup> Urbs nobilis et opulenta. Vita Brunonis, ch. 16; regia civitas. Contin. Regino, M.G.H.SS., I, p. 622. In the tenth century the merchants of Verdun had a walled quarter of their own across the river, but connected with the city by two bridges. Richer, Historiarum Quatuor Libri, Bk. III, ch. 103; Maurer, Städteverfassung, II, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> For routes by road and water in Germany in this time, see Kretschmer, Historische Geographie von Mitteleuropa, pp. 212–218; Gasner, Zum deutschen Strassenwesen von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Mitte des XVII. Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 31–58; Lauffer, loc. cit., p. 53 f.; Knoll, Historische Geographie Deutschlands im Mittelalter, Breslau, 1903.

<sup>5</sup> See Steinitz, Die Organisation und Gruppierung der Krongüter unter Karl dem Grossen, Vierteljahrschrift f. Soz. u. Wirtschaftsgesch., IX, pp. 317–372, 481–560; Kretschmer, loc. cit., p. 198.

Avars in Charlemagne's time and by the Magyars at the beginning of the tenth century—and its recovery really dates from the middle of the reign of Otto the Great.<sup>1</sup> The Thuringians, though conquered by the Franks as far back as early Merovingian times, were still in the tenth century a nation of swine-herders, feeding their hogs upon the mast in the forests<sup>2</sup> and battling with the Wend upon the eastern ledges of their hills. Effective economic life began in Thuringia with Ekkehard I (died 982), who founded Naumburg, established a market there where the Wend changed wares with the German, and instituted a coinage.

What Prof. Turner has called "the common sequence of frontier types—fur trader, cattle raising, pioneer, small primitive farmer"<sup>3</sup>—is true of the frontier of medieval Germany, although for lack of the abundant evidence which American history affords the differentiations can not be so clearly established and the impression is not so definite. Yet the distinctions are perceptible. While the Rhine cities in the tenth century were obscurely building up a trade which blossomed into rich fruitage in the Franconian era and the Rhinelands were intensively cultivating the grape, Mainzer merchants imported grain and cattle into the city from the estates of the Hessian monasteries of Fulda and Hersfeld or from the Slav-tilled fields of the upper Main, freighting the grain downstream to the Rhine.<sup>4</sup> Beyond the monastery ranches and great farms of Hesse and Franconia conditions became more primitive, and in their place appeared small farms, clearings in the forest, and patches of soil crudely tilled by a German peasantry in Thuringia and Saxony, and by Wendish folk in upper Franconia, along the higher reaches of the Main and the Regnitz. From this "back-land" zone things rapidly shaded off into the pure frontier marked by the Saale and the lower Elbe rivers.

The stages in the eastward expansion of the German people are marked, though not so clearly, as the same phenomenon in the United States. In Charlemagne's reign the frontier of settlement (for we

<sup>1</sup> For the devastation, see Hauck, III, p. 154. There is only one fragment of the history of Bavaria in the tenth century preserved, in M. G. H. SS., XVII, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Thietmar, V, 19.

<sup>3</sup> The First Official Frontier of Mass. Col. Soc. of Mass., XVII, p. 254 (1914).

<sup>4</sup> *Translatio SS. Marcellini et Petri* (by Einhard): "Mercatores quidam de civitate Mogontiaci, qui frumentum in superioribus Germaniæ partibus emere ac per fluvium Moenum ad urbem devehere solebant." Cf. Mathai, Einhards *Translatio SS. Marcellini et Petri* in kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung. Progr. d. Gymn. zu Laubach, 1883-84, p. 12. In the eighth century wheat cultivation and soot appear among the peoples bordering on the Franks, and, per contra, in the ninth century the cultivation of rye, the grain of the Slavs, makes its appearance in the sources. Kretschmer, p. 201.

On the cattle raising of the Bonifacian monasteries, see Sommerlad, *Die Wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche*, I, pp. 278, 288; II, p. 152. Riedel, Mark Brand, II, pp. 10-11 and notes. For the subject of cattle raising in general, see Langethal, *Gesch. der deutschen Landwirtschaft* (Jena, 1847), I, p. 46 f.; Von der Goltz, *Landwirtschaft* (1902), I, pp. 87-84, 98-116; Lamprecht, *DWL.*, I, pp. 532 f., 543 f.; and especially Laufer, *Das Landschaftsbild im Zeitalter der Karolinger*, Göttingen dissert., 1896, pp. 63-76. Regensburg was evidently a center of cattle raising in the time of Otto I. Wid., III, ch. 36.

must distinguish between the military boundary and the edge of civilization) was barely beyond the Rhine. A line drawn through Frankfort and Soest, across the sources of the Ruhr and the Lippe, would perhaps mark it. For the chain of fortified trading posts along the course of the lower Elbe, the Saale, and the Nab Rivers from Bardwick to Regensburg were far from the civilization of the Frankish Empire. Under the rule of the Saxon house (919-1024) the frontier of settlement and the military boundary became more nearly identical. The line of civilization was extended to the Saale in Thuringia, but in Saxony proper stopped at the Aller and the Ocker Rivers.<sup>1</sup> Along the middle Main civilization had also crept up as far as Wurzburg, as a charter of Otto III shows, which granted special privileges to settlers who would come and reclaim the forests and drain the marshes.<sup>2</sup> Bamberg, which Henry II founded in 1007, has succeeded Wurzburg as the frontier outpost of the Main Valley. "In the eleventh century Saxons and Nordalbingians are tilling the land of the bishop, who has taken the lead in agricultural exploitation in eastern Franconia."<sup>3</sup> The sources of the Saxon period show the large progress made in eastward colonization. Along the eastern edge of the kingdom from the mouth of the Elbe to the mountains of Styria German colonists annexed immense tracts of territory.<sup>4</sup> But the Elbe was not permanently crossed until the twelfth century.

These pioneers were chiefly engaged in cattle raising. Court judgments in this region were imposed in cattle fines under Otto I, and the legislation shows the prevalence of agrarian crime, especially cattle stealing.<sup>5</sup> But the border trade also became an increasing economic item. In 965 Otto I established a market at Bremen;<sup>6</sup> in 975 Otto II, at the request of Archbishop Adalbert, of Magdeburg, granted protection "to merchants dwelling in Magdeburg" and "freedom everywhere in our realm, in Christian and in barbarous lands, to go and come unmolested."<sup>7</sup>

At the opening of the tenth century, the beginning of the Saxon epoch, the population of Germany was very unevenly distributed.

<sup>1</sup> Gerdes, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, I, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Gerdes, I, p. 371; Matthias, *Klosterpolitik Heinrichs II.*, Vol. II, p. 74. In the time of Arnulf, a century earlier, the bishopric of Wurzburg was solidly Slav (Ep. Arnulf, in Jaffé, V, p. 477), and still must have been heavily so in the year 1000.

<sup>3</sup> Fisher, *Medieval Empire*, I, 78. For cattle raising along the frontier, see Sommerlad, II, p. 266; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, II, p. 33 f. The *Vita Meinwerchi* is rich in economic data.

<sup>4</sup> Gerdes, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, I, p. 337 f.; Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, III, p. 52 f.

<sup>5</sup> Wid., II, 6; Roscher, *Polit. Economy* (Eng. trans.), I, p. 353, note.

<sup>6</sup> M.G.H. *Dip.*, I, p. 422.

<sup>7</sup> *Hansisches Urk.-B.* I, No. 1. It is a confirmation, however, of a lost grant of Otto I. In 1025 Conrad II reaffirmed this decree and specific mention is made in it of the trade of Magdeburger merchants on the Havel and the Spree, i. e., in Brandenburg. Boehmer, *Regesta* No. 1272; Stumpf, No. 1871.

In the Rhinelands, from the mouth of the Rhine to the Hochgebirge, the peopling seems to have been quite dense and there was a high degree of material culture. In Lorraine, West Franconia, and Swabia the population must have been numerous and the material civilization considerable. But Saxony, Bavaria, and the Ostmark were still thinly peopled.

With the accession of Henry I to the German throne, in 919, the eastward pressure of the German race was actively pushed. The Sorben land between the Saale and the upper Elbe was the first territory wrung from the Slavs by the German sword and the first to be germanized. But it is a mistake to regard the conquest and settlement of this land as a prototype of the colonization of the territory across the Elbe, i. e., Nordalbingia, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg. The eastward expansion of the German people was not a uniform movement, nor was the process the same in every part. In Nordalbingia and the Billunger March the expansion was, as we shall see, a natural expansion and the settlement a true colonization. But in the Sorben "triangle" it was a conquest made by government and not by the people—a military occupation made for the purpose of strengthening and straightening the frontier against the Poles and the Bohemians. Over a century was to elapse before any real colonization or much exploitation of the soil began. Even the church had no part in the process until a considerable time had elapsed. The Thuringian March was a veritable Reichsland.

If now we turn to the territory bounded by the Baltic, the Oder, the marshes of the Havel and the lower Elbe—to Brandenburg and Nordalbingia, in a word—we find that here the border problem and its solution was very different. There was here no compact Slavonic mass like the Sorben, but detached and often mutually hostile Slav tribes, Obodrites, Wilzi (or Liutizi), Redarians, Polabians, Hevelians, etc., whose division naturally weakened their power of resistance to German pressure.<sup>1</sup> In 936 Otto I erected this whole region from the Trave to the Peene Rivers into a march and put it in the care of Hermann Billung,<sup>2</sup> who was given far larger liberty than Gero in the Sorben March. Otto's lack of vision was destined to throw future control of German colonization toward the north-east out of the hands of the German kings, who ought in their national office to have been the directors of it, and into the hands of the feudal princes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sommerfeld, *Geschichte d. Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern* in Schmoller's *Forschungen*, XIII, fünftes Heft (1896), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of Corbie*, 934; *Wid.*, I, 40; Thietmar, I, 9; Adam of Bremen, I, 57, 59; Waitz, *Jahrbuch*, pp. 277 ff., excursus 24.

<sup>3</sup> See the observations of Lamprecht, IV, pp. 13-14, on the bearing of this course upon the future history of Germany and compare Fisher, *Medieval Empire*, I, pp. 263, 314-315.

We know nothing in detail of the degree of German colonization instituted at this time by Hermann Billung and the Saxon Church across the lower Elbe. Judging from Helmold's observations made regarding it 200 years later, there must have been a considerable pioneer movement into the Wendish lands. But the occupation was doomed to be of short duration. A generation of clerical and feudal tyranny was certain to bear bitter fruit. In 983 a formidable Slavonic and pagan reaction took place. Havelberg, Brandenburg, and Zeitz were desolated. Even Hamburg was plundered. Magdeburg alone stood fast. In the year 1000 part of Nordalbingia was devastated with fire and sword. In 1018, in a second formidable invasion, the whole province was overrun by the infuriated Wagri and Liutizi.

The desolation was complete.<sup>1</sup> Nearly two centuries later, when lower Germany, under the great leadership of Adolph of Holstein, Henry the Lion, and Albrecht the Bear, had recovered the "lost provinces," Helmold of Holstein, whose intelligent observation entitles him to no mean honor as an archæologist, found a melancholy charm in surveying the ruins and churches and monasteries in Schleswig and Wagria and in "the land which is called Balsemerlande and Marscinerlande, where the Saxons are said once to have dwelt"<sup>2</sup>—crumbled memorials of German power there in the days of the Ottos.

"There still remain," he says, "many evidences of that former occupation, especially in the forest which extends from the city of Lütjenburg through the mighty (*longissimas*) tracts of Schleswig, in whose vast and almost impenetrable solitudes yet may be described the furrows which once marked out the plowlands. Even the lines of former towns and villages may be traced in the ruins. Along the streams in many places mounds of earth and silt, formed by the tributary waters, yet testify that every such site was once inhabited by Saxons—when Saxon valor was formidable." Helmold sighs over the spacious and fertile soil once radiant with the harvest, but now gone over to bramble and brier and scarce inhabited. It is the same even on the left bank of the Elbe between the great bend and the upper Aller (to-day the territory around Halberstadt, Stendhal, and Salzwedel), "where still may be seen the ruins of old levees which were constructed in the lowlands along the banks of the Elbe. When the Slavs overran the country the Saxons were cut off, and the land was possessed by them down to our own time."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> When Henry II in 1017 crossed the Elbe in an expedition against Boleslav he came to a *curtis* of the bishop of Magdeburg named Leitzkau ruined and inhabited by wild animals. "Albim ad Liesca, curtem quondam Vigonis episcopi et tunc feris innumeralibus inhabitatam venit." Thietmar, VIII, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Helm., I, 12 and 89.

<sup>3</sup> The difference in the way in which Helmold writes of the former occupations of the Saxons in Schleswig and Wagria on the one hand, and of the marshland of Balsemerlande and Marscinerlande, on the other, is to be noted. In the first case he

And yet, when the fury of this second great revolt of the Slavs had spent itself, painfully and slowly again civilization began to pick up again in Nordalbingia, peasant settlers from Saxony, and not merely land-hungry nobles, began to filter once more into the region.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the eleventh century Adam of Bremen proudly says: "Per idem tempus in Sclavania res maximae gestae sunt;"<sup>2</sup> and the picture of the prosperity which he paints, if perhaps over-colored, is nevertheless significant of the changed order of things along the lower Elbe.<sup>3</sup>

But the Saxon greed for the Wendish lands was like the American pioneer's appetite for the hunting grounds of the Indians. In the summer of 1066 a third Wendish and pagan rebellion broke out. A new and compact Slavonic State, as a result, was established in Nordalbingia under a Rugian chief named Kruto, who ruled the united Wendish tribes till his death in 1093.<sup>4</sup> The border situation was as if here in America Pontiac's conspiracy in 1763 had been successful, and the Indian tribes west of the Alleghanies combined. German colonization toward the northeast was given a serious setback. "The land was almost reduced to a solitude," is the mournful record. "Travel beyond the Elbe was difficult and hazardous . . ."<sup>5</sup> "In those days more than 600 families of the people of Holstein emigrated across the river (Elbe), seeking a better place where they might be free from danger. And they came into the Harz Mountains and there they themselves and their sons and their grandsons have remained unto this time."<sup>6</sup>

In 1093, when the dreaded Kruto died, the remnant of the desperate German population left in Holstein and Ditmarsch rose in arms and shook off the Wendish yoke. Of the German population

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speaks from personal observation; in the latter he is apparently writing from hearsay (*feruntur . . . ut videri potest*, I, 89). It is not always possible to distinguish between the direct and indirect sources of Helmold's information. For example, in I, 18, where he relates the circumstances of the death of Benno of Hildesheim, he *almost* paraphrases the bishop's epitaph in part of the account, which makes Lüntzel (*Gesch. der Diöcese u. Stadt Hildesheim*, I, p. 181, note 3), and the latest editor of Helmold's *Chronicle* (Schmiedler's edition, 1909, p. 39, notes 1 and 3), believe that Helmold actually had visited Hildesheim.

<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the reign of Henry IV, as the result of the Slav reaction of 1066, 600 Saxon families which were settled in Holstein and Ditmarsch emigrated to Thuringia. Helm., I, 26. They must have settled in their first home after the Slav insurrection of 1018 had subsided. See note 6. The early Angle colony around Merseburg, often alluded to by German historians, never existed. The oldest manuscript of the text (M. G. H. SS., VII, p. 285) contains no mention of it. It is an interpolation in later manuscripts. Cf. *Lot in Revue Historique*, mai-juin, 1915, p. 31, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> III, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 18-21. Cf. Helm., I, 20.

<sup>4</sup> "Pagani victores totam Nordalbingiam deinceps habuerunt in sua ditone, bellatoribusque occisis aut in captivitate ductis, provincia in solitudinem redacta est." Adam of Bremen, III, 63.

<sup>5</sup> *Sidonis Epist.* ed. Schmiedler, p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Helm., I, 26. Probably the settlement of Elbingerode, in the Brockengebirge, is here indicated, for it is not mentioned before the twelfth century, and the name indicates that it was founded by some people from the Elbe valley.



once there, many had emigrated, the rest had maintained a precarious existence under the Wendish and pagan domination, living in the vicinity of a few Burgwarde which seem never to have been taken by the Wends.<sup>1</sup> The people gladly went back to their abandoned farms. German civilization, and Germany's ecclesiastical system returned to the land, "and the houses and churches which had been destroyed were rebuilt."

For 142 years—from the great Wendish rebellion in 983 to the accession of Lothar II in 1125—the eastward expansion of the German people across the Elbe had been stopped by the Slavs. After 200 years of effort the Franconian period ended with pitifully insignificant results, so far as east German colonization was concerned. In 1125 the linguistic frontier was still where it had been in the reign of Charlemagne.<sup>2</sup> Yet within the term of the next generation, in the middle of the twelfth century, the entire fabric of Slavonic tribal independence collapsed. Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania were conquered and settled by the German people; the native population was converted and reduced under German domination. The speed and effectiveness of this rapid change is to be ascribed partly to the breakdown of the capacity of resistance among the Wends; more, perhaps, to the accumulated pressure of things in Germany which bore down all barriers of opposition.

The economic and social transformation of Germany, especially Saxon or lower Germany, during the Franconian epoch was enormous, and it is in these changes that the causes of the German people's eastward expansion in the twelfth century are to be found. The evidences of this important revolution are manifold. They are to be seen in the manifestations of peasant unrest, which can be discerned as early as the tenth century; in the slow depression of the Saxon freeman to the status of a serf; in the extension of manorial rights over mills, bake ovens, wine presses, breweries, and other activities of the economy of the German village; in the increase of "split" tenures, a tendency observable in France as far back as the reign of Charles the Bald, who forbade the practice in the edict of Pistes in 864; in the transition from a freehold to a rent system; in the break-up of the ancient mark community and the dissolution of the Allmend; in the evolution of the ministerialis class; in the extension of the tithe from grain and wine (*der grosse Zehnt*) to include small produce like vegetables, fowls, eggs, honey, etc. (*der kleine Zehnt*); in the engrossing of the land by the nobles and the clergy, even the forests, so that lay and ecclesiastical estates ranging from

<sup>1</sup> Helmold does not call them Burgwarde, as Thietmar a century and a half earlier denominated the Saxon strongholds in the Sorben land. Instead he calls them "munitiones" (I, 34) or "presidia" (I, 19, 25). He gives the name of two of these—Echeco and Bokeldeburg.

<sup>2</sup> Wendt, II, pp. 5-7; cf. Lavisse, *La marche de Brandebourg*, p. 36.

8,000 to 60,000 Morgen were not uncommon; in the agricultural revolution, largely due to the superior methods of the French Cistercians who introduced new and more scientific practices of farming; in the rise of land values, which Lamprecht estimates to have been as much as 40 per cent in older provinces like Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhinelands between the tenth and the thirteenth century; in the extension of private ownership to the forests, hitherto ever the poor man's home (the Frankenwald was appropriated in Saxon times, the Harz by the middle of the twelfth century); in the changes in social texture from a simple to a complex composition; in the movements of the lower population into new localities, frequently forest and marsh, where in "clearings" or patches of soil laboriously drained, the peasantry tried still to preserve their freer form of living; in the development of commerce and industry; in the rise of the towns, a social phenomenon which strikingly characterizes the reign of Henry IV.<sup>1</sup>

Under these new and changed conditions it was natural that the "New East" beyond the Elbe beckoned to the Saxons of the twelfth century much as the "New West" beckoned to the American pioneer. In both cases the sparsely populated back lands tempted men from the more settled regions. The frontier of medieval Germany lay at "the hither edge of free land" as truly as did the American frontier. The increasing economic and social pressure in the older parts of Saxony and elsewhere pushed the hardier and the braver spirits across the line. They "trekked" eastward to establish new homes for themselves in the wilderness, leaving the great manors of church and noble—in particular the former,<sup>2</sup> which had supplanted the Saxon free farmer, to be farmed more intensively by Flemish and Dutch settlers used to deep plowings in the heavy soils of the Low Countries, who were imported by Adolph of Holstein, Henry the Lion, and many of the bishops. "Hard times" and feudal oppression were powerful factors in the migration of peoples in the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> The Bavarian colonization of the Ostmark, the Frankish

<sup>1</sup> This long paragraph merely makes "points." It is not possible to enter into detail within the limits of this article. I have in preparation an article upon the social and economic transformation of Saxon-Franconian Germany. Meanwhile the reader is referred to Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, III, Bk. 8. ch. 1-2; D. W. G., I, 603-622; Inama Sternegg, D. W. G., III, 386 f., 407 f.; Nitzsch, II, pp. 8 ff.; Below, *Zur Entstehung der deutschen Städte*. *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LVIII. pp. 193-244; Wendt, II, pp. 7-8; Roscher, *Ackerbau*, *passim*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Kötzschke, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> A few references, from many which might be given, must suffice: "Hanc silvam incole propter diversas pauperum necessitates adgressi sunt cedere et facere novalia (anno 1101)." *Mittelrhein*. Urk.-B., I, 401.

"... Qui autem pauperiores erant, faciebant sibi novalia et villas in nemoribus et forestis S. Bonifacii." *Gesta Marcuardi*, Boehmer, *Fontes*, III, 166; also in Dronke, *Trad. Fuld.*, p. 154. It is quoted from *Gesta Marcuardi* abbat. Fuld. The date is between 1150-1165.

"Exactores—ad ultimam homines nostros pauperiem redegerunt et exire de patria et de hereditate sua mendicandi cœgerunt causa (1102)." *Mart. Coll.*, I, 595. "Dum

colonization of parts of Saxony and the Thüringer March, the settlement of Westphalian, Dutch, and Flemish colonists east of the Elbe are examples.

The relation of these internal changes in Germany to the peopling of the border needs further investigation. The history of German eastward expansion has been studied more in the results than in the formative processes which produced the movement. A remarkable proclamation (probably of the year 1108) cleverly calculated to promote settlement in the new land, and signed by the leading bishops and Fürsten of Saxony, clearly expresses the motives of the time:

They (the Slavs) are an abominable people, but their land is very rich in flesh, honey, grain, birds, and abounding in all products of the fertility of the earth, when cultivated, so that none can be compared unto it. So they say who know. Wherefore, O Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, men of Flanders most famous—here you can both save your souls, and if it please you, acquire the best of land to live in.<sup>1</sup>

Mixed with that negative ingredient to be found in every complex society, vaguely seeking a way out of its discontent by change, was a large element of the best blood and bone of the German race in this migration. A large proportion of the emigrants in the twelfth century were men of firm fiber actuated by a determination to better their condition, and ambitious to seize the opportunities offered in a new country. Many of these settlers came from Westphalia and eastern Franconia, regions which had themselves been frontier districts in the tenth and eleventh centuries, what might be called the "Old East" in contrast with the "New East" just opening up.

After the Wendish crusade of 1147 this drift of population toward the frontier became almost a "rush." Says Schulze:

Up to the twelfth century conditions in Germany had not developed to a point which necessitated an overflow of the excess population into distant border territory. The homeland still furnished sufficient land even for the

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*quidam pauperum de familia ecclesie nostre (S. Pantaleon in Cologne) in curtes nostras Embe et Anhe pertinentes frequenti nos proclamatione merendo pulsarent, eo quod ad jus eorum, quit plenum debitum solvunt, compulsi tanta saepe violentia comprimerentur. ut nonnulli vacuas quas tenebant possessiunculas relinquentes patriis et sedibus migrare dispenerent."* Lacomblet, *Urk.-B.*, I, 344 (anno 1141). "Avaritia et rapina potentum pauperes et ruricolae opprimuntur et ad judicia injusta trahuntur. Hec lues peccati multos vendere patrimonialia et ad peregrinas migrare terras compulsi." This significant reference was first pointed out by Teutsch, *Zehntrecht*, p. 7; cf. Sybel in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, IX, p. 409 (1863), and Schulze, *Kolonisierung*, p. 125, note 4. It relates to the Sieburger region. The date is 1183. Cf. also I, p. 367 (1149); *Mittelrhein. Urk.-B.*, II, p. 171 (1197); Lacomblet, p. 256 (1099); *Cod. Lauresh.*, I, p. 153 (1148); Seibert, *Urk.-B.*, I, p. 56 (1166), cited by Inama Sternegg, *D. W. G.*, II, p. 19, note 2, p. 24, note. In general see Curschmann, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1900.

<sup>1</sup>This remarkable document is to be found in Kötzschke, *Quellen zur Gesch. der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 9-10. It may also be found in *Codex Diplom., Sax. Reg.*, II, 1, No. 40; *Codex Diplom., Anhalt.*, I, No. 172; *Mecklenb. Urk.*, X, pp. 457 ff.; *Neues Archiv*, VII, 624; *Archiv für slavische Phil.*, VI, p. 216. For commentary see Hauck *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, IV, 599, note 4; Tangl in *Neues Archiv*, XXX, p. 183; Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrb. d. deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich V.*, Bd. VI, pp. 79 ff.; Dobenecker, *Regesta Hist.*, Thur., I, No. 1048 (pp. 1039 ff.).

younger sons, and the settling and exploitation of regions within the kingdom, the clearing of the extensive forests and wild land at home yet absorbed the energy of the peasant. Only as the available area grew narrower and narrower, when the land in many cases had been subjected to cultivation beyond the limits of productivity, and recourse had to be made to division of the *Hufen*, did the call of the princes and the nobles from the Wendish lands meet with response. Thousands then emigrated, full of fresh courage and cheerful hope, into the east, where land in plenty and freedom and independent living upon their own acres awaited them.

Nor did they come with empty hands. Just as to-day the greater portion of rural emigrants is made up of the most efficient and energetic elements, who as a whole are not utterly without means, men to whom their home has grown too narrow, and which has ceased to provide sufficient play either for their economic or for their social energies, so it was then—that enterprise, energy, and rich experience which they had gained in farming the home acres these settlers brought with them. They could not have afforded to have been wholly without some material means. The hard labor of clearing the wilderness promised success and reward to their arduous endeavors only after years of toil. At the very outset the conditions of border life demanded the application of all their strength and skill, the expenditure of a not inconsiderable capital in the form of implements and tools, equipment and supplies, and at times also of ready cash.<sup>1</sup>

The Saxon population along the border (Marcomanni, or Marchmen, they were called)<sup>2</sup> had need, as Helmold says, to be of strong endurance, and to be ready to risk their blood. These medieval German frontiersmen were resolute and hardy, hard working, and given to a rough hospitality toward strangers provided they were Germans and lived Saxon law like themselves, but hating the Wend, and detesting foreign incomers like the Dutch and Flemings.<sup>3</sup> Both their culture and their Christianity were rude and crude when compared with the more refined German life of the cities in old Franconia and the valley of the Rhine.<sup>4</sup> In Helmold's *Chronicon Slavorum* we get authentic glimpses of German frontier life in the twelfth

<sup>1</sup> Schulze, *Kolonisierung*, p. 79. It seems to me that Von der Goltz, *Landwirtschaft*, I, pp. 119-120, exaggerates when he writes: "Die Kolonisationen nahmen die materiellen und geistigen Kraft der Nation so in Anspruch, dass für eine fortschreitende Entwicklung und Ausbildung der bereits in geordneten Gänge befindlichen Wirtschaften wenig übrig blieb."

<sup>2</sup> Helm., I, 66, 67, 87.

<sup>3</sup> For evidence of the contempt of the Germans for the Wends, see Fredegar, *Chron.*, IV, ch. 68; Monk of St. Gall, II, 12; Thietmar, III, 17; Adam of Bremen, II, 43 (schol.); Helm., I, 18 and 16; Cosmas of Prague, I, ch. 40 (M.G.H.SS., IX, p. 42); Idem, X, p. 84. For Saxon hatred of Flemish *advena*, see Helm., I, 63-64.

<sup>4</sup> "Tres autem sunt Nordalbingorum populi: Sturmari, Holzati, Thetmarki, nec habitu nec lingua multum discrepantes, tenentes Saxonum jura (Cf. *Sachsenspiegel*, Bk. III, art. 64, §3) et Christianum nomen, nisi quod propter barbarorum viciniam furtis et latrocinii operam dare consueverunt. Hospitalitatis gratiam sectantur. Nam furari et largiri apud Holzatos ostentacio est. . . . Habitudinem loci campumque vasta et sterili mirica perorridum, preterea accolarum genus agreste et incultum, nichil de religione nisi nomen tantum Christianitatis habentes." Helm., I, 47. Helmold frequently uses the word "uncouth" (*agrestis*) to describe border conditions, e. g., I, 18; in I, 67. The Holsteiners are "gens libera et cervicosa, gens agrestis et indomita."

There are two paragraphs in the *Dialogus* of Herbordus (II, ch. II, pp. 60-61; II, ch. 30, p. 143), which interestingly depict the impression the cultivated clerical society of Michelsberg, in Bamberg, had of German wilderness life.

century, of the migration of 600 Holsteiner families from their precarious border homes into Thuringia;<sup>1</sup> of new settlers pressing into the region, chiefly Flemings and Dutch, who redeem the fenlands around Bremen and in the Havelland.<sup>2</sup> As in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the blockhouse guarded the frontier settlements against Indian foray, so in the debated land between the Saxon and the Slav timbered castles (*munitiones, oppida, castra, castella*) protected the sparse and scattered pioneer German population. "Around them," says Helmold, "the settlers clustered, but in great fear of attacks."<sup>3</sup> One sees the barbarian side of the picture, too. The gradual dispossession of the Wends and the seizure of their lands by German colonists, whose hunger for land and faculty for establishing settlements roused the ire of the Slavs.<sup>4</sup>

In all this energy and violence upon the border the part which the Saxon people played in it, and not merely nobles and bishops, is to be observed. German eastward expansion had ceased to be only the covetous land-grabbing aspiration of the great, and had become a deep and strong national movement. "Die Grosstat unseres Volkes während des Mittelalters," as Lamprecht has styled it—the conquest of two-fifths of modern Germany was beginning its historic work.

The result of the reduction of the Wagri and Obodrites by Adolph of Holstein and Henry the Lion in 1143 was a large influx of German immigrants into the trans-Elbean lands, which were thrown open to settlement.<sup>5</sup> Settlers thronged in "cum equis et bubus, cum aratris et plaustis et personis ad opus idoneis,"<sup>6</sup> to the exasperation of the Wends who could do nothing but sullenly submit.<sup>7</sup>

Nothing so much resembles it as the American "rush" after the War of 1812 into the Western Reserve and the Ohio Valley. In the older parts of Germany the exodus was so great that manorial proprietors were compelled to ameliorate the condition of their peasantry lest they run away to the new lands beyond the Elbe.<sup>8</sup> It requires no stretch of imagination for the American scholar, who is familiar from his birth, through family tradition and education, with the history of the "making" of the New West, to visualize the nature and importance of this emigration across the Elbe. Helmold's para-

<sup>1</sup> I, 25.

<sup>2</sup> I, 57, 88-89.

<sup>3</sup> "Jam enim circumjacentia oppida incolebantur paulatim a Christicollis, sed cum grandi pavore propter insidias latronum. Castrum enim Plunense necdum reedificatum fuerat." Helm., I, 75. So it was in America: "A log hut, a little clearing edged by the primeval forest, with the palisaded fort near by—this was the type of home they made." Turner, *American Historical Review*, I, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> "Slavicus furor propter occupationes Saxonum." Helm., I, 56.

<sup>5</sup> For extended treatment of this subject, see Detlefsen, *Geschichte des Holsteinischen Elb-Marschen*, 2 vols., with map (1891-2).

<sup>6</sup> *Sidonis Epist.*, p. 240, ed. Schmeidler.

<sup>7</sup> "Slavi . . . terram suam a Christianis Teutonicis incolis, exarserunt." *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>8</sup> Kovalovsky, *Die ökonomische Entwicklung Europas*, III, pp. 321-322.

graphs have the vividness of a panorama to his eyes. This great movement almost seems to be a chapter of the history of his own forebears.

"Because the land was without people," says Helmold, "Adolph sent messengers into all the regions roundabout, even into Flanders and Holland, the bishopric of Utrecht, into Westphalia and Frisia, to proclaim that all who were in want of land might come with their families and receive the best soil, a spacious country, rich in crops, abounding with fish and flesh and exceeding good pasturage."<sup>1</sup>

Like a true land promoter Adolph deftly advertised the region. He said unto the people of Holstein and Sturmaria:

Do you not see that you have subjugated the land of the Slavs—that you have bought it by the death of your brothers and your fathers? Why, therefore, do you not at once enter in and possess it? Be the first, and come into this delectable land, and cultivate it, and have a share of its products. For you should have the best of that which you have wrested from the hands of your enemies.

The response was a "rush" of settlers from the older parts of Germany, notably Westphalia, and even of immigrants from Holland and Flanders. "An innumerable multitude of various nations," we are told, "responded to the invitation." The Holsteiners took the nearest and safest stretch of land along the Trave and Schwentine as far as the Plöner-See;<sup>2</sup> the Westphalians settled in the Gau Dargunensis;<sup>3</sup> the Hollanders around Eutin; the Frisians around Süssel. "And Adolph gave Oldenburg and Lütjenburg and the rest of the lands along the sea to the Slavs to cultivate, and they were made tributary to him."<sup>4</sup> They were driven, like the Indians of the Everglades, into the swamps and forests, where they eked out a wretched living on fish and game<sup>5</sup> or took to piracy among the Danish islands.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I, 57.

<sup>2</sup> There is to-day a village named Holstendorf in this region between Ahrensboeck and Eutin.

<sup>3</sup> This location can not be ascertained. Wendt (*Germanisierung, etc.*, II, p. 15) thinks it near Lübeck; Schmeidler (ed. Helm., p. 112, note 3) fixes it near Ahrensboeck. Von Schröder and Biernatzki (*Topographie der Herzogtümer Holstein und Lauenburg, Oldenburg, 1855*, p. 6) incline to the vicinity of Rostock.

<sup>4</sup> All historians of medieval Germany touch upon this subject but add little to Helmold, I, 57. The Fleming-Dutch portion of it will be taken up in another article. The most recent study is A. Gloy, *Der Gang der Germanisation in Ostholstein*, Kiel, 1884, especially pp. 17 ff. Cf. Meitzen, loc. cit., II, 354 ff.; Wendt, II, pp. 14-17.

<sup>5</sup> Helm., I, 69, 83; II, 13; Ebbo, *Vita Ottonis episc. Badenber.*, III, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Helm., I, 102. In II, 13, Helmold gives a graphic picture of their fugitive, predatory life. The island of Rügen, the last stronghold of independence of the Baltic Slavs, was the seat of these forays, which were not ended until the Danish capture of the island in 1168 and the complete destruction of the great temple of Arkona there. The Saxon princes, who hated the Danes, connived at these forays and even permitted captive Danes to be sold into slavery in the market-places of German cities. Helmold, II, 13, says that he had heard from eyewitnesses of the exposure of 700 Danish prisoners for sale in Mecklenburg.

Adolph of Holstein, if he had not been molested in his plans by his feudal neighbors, might have worked out some accommodation in the strained relations between the two races. He understood the Slavonic tongue and the Slavonic character as no other German of his time, save possibly Albrecht the Bear; without recourse to force he persuaded the Obodrite nobles to do him homage and induced them to open their lands to German settlers.<sup>1</sup> But Adolph's policy of peaceful colonization and benevolent intercourse between the two races was frustrated by the Wendish crusade in 1147, by the enmity of Henry the Lion, by the land greed of the Saxon baronage, by the eagerness of the inrushing settlers, who clamored for the expulsion of the Wends as loudly as the American settlers for the removal of the Indians. The middle of the twelfth century was no moment to advocate moderation. The crusades, at once a fanatical religious war and a colonizing movement, were in full swing.

When the bloody strife was over, Nordalbingia was again a smoking wilderness.<sup>2</sup> Once more the work of colonization and settlement was resumed, and a veritable invasion of monks into the land of Wagria [Mecklenburg] followed as a matter of course,<sup>3</sup> along with a wave of new colonists who introduced the superior methods of German tillage.<sup>4</sup> The Germans brought both a higher form of economic life and a higher capacity for exploitation of the soil. German farming methods were superior to those of the Wends. Only in fishery, beekeeping, and pottery work was the Wend markedly superior to the German.

The end of chapter 84 in Helmold's *Chronicon* is an epilogue: "The Slavs little by little failed in the land, and the Saxons came in and dwelt there."<sup>5</sup>

The conquered country was secured by garrisoned castles and thrown open to settlement, the best tracts being apportioned like military bounty lands, among Henry's vassals and the Saxon clergy.<sup>6</sup> The nature of these settlers' holdings varied.<sup>7</sup> Many of

<sup>1</sup> Helm., I, 57 (end).

<sup>2</sup> "Omnis igitur terra Obotritorum et finitimas regiones quæ pertinent ad regem Obotritorum, assiduus bellis, maxime vero hoc novissimo bello tota in solitudinem redacta est." Helm., II, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Sidonis Epist., p. 244. Köttschke, loc. cit., p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> [Henricus] "precepit Slavorum populo, ut coleret vir agrum suum et exercerent laborem utilem et commodum." Helm., I, 34.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mecklenb. Urkundenbuch, I, p. 56; Slavis ejectis; cf. Codex Anhalt., I, 347, 414. Heinemann, loc. cit., p. 466; Guttman, Forsch. z. Brand. u. Preuss. Gesch., IX, pp. 427-428.

<sup>6</sup> "Porro terram Obotritorum divisit militibus suis possidendum—confluerent de terris suis homines Teutonici ad incolendam terram spaciosam, fertilem frumento, commodam pascuarum ubertate, abundantem pisce et carne et omnibus bonis." Helm., I, 88. "Slavi usquequaque protritri atque propulsi sunt, et venerunt—populi fortes et innumerabiles et obtinuerunt terminos Slavorum et edificaverunt civitates et ecclesias et increverunt divisilis super omnem estimacionem." Helm., I, 89. Cf. I, 102.

<sup>7</sup> We find a variety of terms as prædium, allodium, villa, curtis, etc. The distinctions are more legal than economic. See Kretschmer, loc. cit., p. 198, and bibliography.

them were not large—a circumstance which points to a considerable influx of peasantry. What the extent of the peasant grants was is left to conjecture. But the minimum area must have been at least three *Hufen*, for, according to the *Sachsenspiegel*, the possession of three *Hufen* was a qualification of a *Schoffenbarfreimann*.<sup>1</sup> In 1171 Helmold, though with some exaggeration, describes Nordalbingia as a great Saxon colony:

The whole land of the Slavs, beginning at the Eyder (River), which is the boundary of the Kingdom of Denmark and lies between the Baltic Sea and the Elbe, and extends through a vast tract of country clear to Schwerin—a country which was once vexed with war and almost without population—now, through the grace of God, has all been conquered and, as it were, formed into a single colony of the Saxons. Towns and castles are being builded there, and the churches and ministers of Christ are increasing.<sup>2</sup>

The last paragraph of this most original narrative of German medieval frontier history tells how Pribislav, the Obodrite duke (the only one of his family left, for Henry the Lion had hanged his brother), "sate quiet and content with the portion of territory allotted him 'by the rope' (i. e., surveyed), and rebuilt the towns of Mecklenburg, Ilow, and Rostock, and collected his people therein."

How strongly the need of German colonists was felt is indicated by a contract made in 1210 between Bishop Dietrich, of Lübeck, and Heinrich Borwin, a half Slav noble. The latter, according to the contents of the document in question, had settled German colonists on the little island of Poel, near Wismar (which politically belonged to Mecklenburg, ecclesiastically to Lübeck) "because of the poverty and small number of Slavs in that neighborhood, who were insufficient for the cultivation of the land." He insisted, as the bishop says, that these settlers should not be held to the payment of all the church tithes, which the peasants always felt to be a very oppressive burden. The bishop finally, though seemingly not without demur, contented himself with one-half the tithe, rendering the other half to Heinrich Borwin as a fief, an arrangement which with greater or less variation is found repeated in many of the other colonized regions.<sup>3</sup> The district of Schwerin (the region west and south

<sup>1</sup> Schulze, p. 117. The *Hufe* was not invariable in area. Its size was fixed by regional custom and varied greatly, from 15, 20, 36, 45, 60, 120, 160 Morgen. Lamprecht, D. W. L., pp. 346-350; Kovalevsky, *Oekonomische Entwicklung Europas*, III (1905), p. 217. The same variableness is attached to the term "Morgen." Defined as "ein Landstück für welches die Pflugarbeit eines Morgens, von Sonnenaufgang bis Mittag, erfahrungsgemäss in Anspruch genommen wurde" (Kötzschke, p. 68), the measurement was naturally conditioned by the nature of the soil, the size of the team, and the length of the working day. A Morgen in one place was not the same in area as a Morgen in another place. But it was a definite unit for the manor, or the region, concerned. See, further, Schmidt, *Zur Agrargeschichte Lübecks und Ostholsteins*; Kovalevsky, loc. cit., III, p. 193 f. The Dutch colonists in the region preserved their own ancestral law for centuries (Hollensch Recht), for in 1438 the Holsteiner towns Zarnekau and Gumale went over to "Holsten Recht." Wendt, II, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> II, 14.

<sup>3</sup> For fuller comment, see Sommerfeld, pp. 136 ff. Cf. Guttmann, *Forsch. zur Preuss. und Brand. Gesch.*, IX, p. 429; Wendt, II, p. 20, note.



of the Schweriner-See) as well as the neighboring localities, Ratzeburg and East Holstein, in the course of a short time were heavily colonized with Germans. In the diocese of Ratzeburg two generations later, among 277 settlements, only 8 are mentioned as having Wendish inhabitants.

There still is one region of Transalbingia—namely, Brandenburg—whose colonization remains to be briefly considered. The two German nobles of the twelfth century who exhibited a keen yet sympathetic understanding of the problem involved in the relations of the Germans and the Slavs along the Elbe frontier were Adolph of Holstein, and Albrecht the Bear of Brandenburg. The moderate and statesmanlike policy of Adolph, as we have seen, was ruined by the Saxon princes, especially Henry the Lion. But Albrecht was strong enough to hold his own against the pressure and to carry out his own ideas within his territories without molestation or inhibition. In Tuttle's words:

Albert was a statesman as well as a soldier, and by a politic liberality insinuated first his religion and then his authority upon many of the most influential Wends. Arms and diplomacy thus composed a hostile and refractory people into a body of sympathetic subjects. At the same time he fixed the conditions of his social polity on such a firm yet prudent basis that even before his death the prosperity of the Mark had begun to excite the envy of his neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

What little population there was in Brandenburg at Albrecht's accession was mixed German and Slav, a forecast of the future social composition of the country.<sup>2</sup> Albrecht had wisely held aloof as much as he could from participation in the Wendish crusade of 1147, so that the broken fragments of the pagan Slavs looked upon him with a not unfriendly eye, and in 1150, when the Christian Wendish chieftain in Brandenburg died without heirs and left his territory by bequest to Albrecht, a German extension over Brandenburg was made possible without friction.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tuttle, *History of Prussia*, I, 13-14. For a fuller discussion, see Guttman, *Forschungen zur Brand. und Preuss. Gesch.*, IX, pp. 444-450.

<sup>2</sup> "*Gens illa saxonica et slavica*" (Riedel, *Codex diplom.*, IV, p. 2); "*gens permixta Slavonica et Saxonica*" (cited by Wendt, II, p. 21, note). Both allusions are from the *Pulcavæ Chronica*, which is of the fourteenth century. This, of course, would normally vitiate its evidence for the twelfth century. But both Riedel (*Novus codex diplom. Brand.*, IV, 1, introd., pp. ix-xvi) and Heinemann (*Albrecht der Bär*, pp. 421-422) have shown that this chronicle embodies extracts derived from an earlier and lost Brandenburg chronicle. The latter has even attempted to restore it. Cf. Lavissee, p. 61, note 1; p. 71, note 2. Of course the statement in the paragraph involves the burning question of whether, and how far, the population of modern Brandenburg is mixed German and Slav. For literature on this subject, in addition to that already cited, see Lavissee, *La Marche de Brandebourg*, pp. 188-194, espec. p. 192, note 2; Guttman in *Forschungen zur Brand. und Preuss. Geschichte*, IX, pp. 395-514, and Wendt, *Die Nationalität der Bevölkerung der deutschen Ostmarken vor dem Beginne der Germanisierung*, Göttingen, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of the evidence concerning this remarkable measure, see Lavissee, p. 61, note 1; Wendt, II, p. 21.

In this sketch it is not possible to go much more deeply into the details of the history of German east colonization in the Middle Ages. The subject is a very large one, and as it is, I have confined my treatment almost wholly to the settlement of the lower Elbe basin. But a word may be in point here as to the way in which the land was allotted to the incomers. In the method of surveying the land the traditions and practices of the familiar manorial system, with its demesne, its strips of glebe land and dividing "balks" were discarded. Instead, the land was marked out in rectangular or oblong blocks—the *mansus regalis* (720 rods long, 30 rods broad) of the Carolingian fisc.<sup>1</sup> Meitzen has shown that this division of allotments into rectangular or oblong blocks obtained in Frisia as early as the time of the Frank mayors, although it was originally foreign to the Frisians. The first obscure traces of the granting of *Hufen* of this form do not, in Frisian lands, antedate Karl Martel. The extension of the system along the whole Frisian coast and to the *Waldhufen* of the royal domain is ascribed to the Carolingian administration. In Holland, Zealand, and Frisia the cultivation of the moorlands began very early. These marsh and moor *Hufen* were surveyed almost without exception in straight strips, a practice which also soon came to obtain in forest clearings, or *Waldhufen*. In the level moorlands there was no difficulty in following this simple plan. The axis of both kinds of *Hufen* was a main road along which the homesteads were in a row, the houses being situated either at the end or in the middle of the strip.<sup>2</sup>

This rectangular system of survey was imported into the German borderlands by Frisian and Dutch settlers from the Low Countries. A charter of Albrecht the Bear specifically mentions these "manors of Dutch measurement."<sup>3</sup> The earliest recorded example of this form of settlement in Germany is that of a colony of Hollanders set-

<sup>1</sup> The earliest mention of the *mansus regalis* in legislation is in Cap. 801-813, M. G. H. LL., p. 189. The rod was approximately 16 feet, varying by a few inches in different regions, except in Lorraine, where it was only 10 feet. The "royal rod" was 5 feet longer. If 16 feet be taken as the normal German rod this would make the royal rod measure 21 feet, which would nearly agree with the English "perch of the king" (20 feet), the "lawful perch of the vill" being 16½ feet. Inama Sternegg, I, p. 439, note 3; II, 25, following Meitzen, says that the customary German rod was 10 feet and the royal rod 15 feet. But Lamprecht, D. W. L., I, p. 343, has shown that the short 10-foot rod was customary only in Lorraine. If, therefore, the royal rod was 5 feet longer than the customary rod it was probably 21 feet, or even 21½ feet. Meitzen has estimated that the *mansus regalis* included from 48-50 hectares of land, or (hectare equals 2.47 acres), nearly 125 acres. But on the assumption that the royal rod was 21 feet the *mansus regalis* would be proportionally larger than this estimate. The Bremen tract (see below, note 1, p. 146) must have been at least a mile and a half square.

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen*, II, pp. 47-53, 343-344. Inama Sternegg, D. W. G., I, 439-443. Since Meitzen wrote, Blanchard (*La Flandre*, Lille, 1906) has thrown new light upon this subject. See especially pp. 151-157, 423-427. On p. 424 is a map of one of these "street" villages in East Flanders.

<sup>3</sup> *Mansos Hollandriensis dimensionis*. Riedel, *Der Mark Brand.*, II, p. 51; *Codex diplom.*, I, p. 838; Lavisse, loc. cit., p. 187.

tled by the archbishop of Hamburg in 1106 in the marshes of the Weser near Bremen.<sup>1</sup>

These villages established in the German colonial lands were very different in appearance from the older, manorial type of village. They formed a long street, with dwellings on either hand, each set in the midst of a separate rectangular subdivision, with the kitchen-garden or orchard around the house near the road, then the farm acres, then the pasture, and last the wood lot. Of course, the order would be subject to natural features, but this was the preferred arrangement if possible. Holstein, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg were largely colonized in this way. The system in time was widely extended, however, as the restless population of Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries searched out for themselves new homes in the wilderness or in less-frequented localities. Parts of the Black Forest and the Odenwald, of Upper Bavaria, of the upper reaches of the Mulde and the Pleisse, of the region between the Lippe and Lüneburg were so settled. The same is true of nearly one-quarter of Silesia and the marshland in the basins of the Oder, the Wartha, and the Netze. But the whole practice goes back to the original colony of Hollander who settled in the Weser marshes in 1106.<sup>2</sup>

In Brandenburg the administrative machinery for the encouragement of settlement was better organized than in other parts of Germany. The immediate instrument in the promotion of colonization was a contractor (locator), which may be appropriately translated "promoter" in American parlance. These agents would contract with a large landed proprietor—bishop or baron, abbot or noble—to bring settlers in and establish them upon the grants which they had acquired from the margrave. For this purpose the tract was rectangularly subdivided after the manner which has been described. One "section" in every such rural community [Landgemeinde] was set aside for the parish priest—what in England was called "Goddes peece." But the rights of the priest were strictly defined. There was no room in Brandenburg for the intrusion of priestly authority. One-tenth went to the locator as his fee. The balance of the land was apportioned among the incomers by lot, who lived under German law and worked the farms on the three-field system.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the document in Kötzschke, *Quellen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, pp. 1-2 (Leipzig, 1912); also in *Bremisches U.-B.*, I, No. 27; Altmann-Bernheim, *Urkk. z. Verf. Gesch. Deutschlands*, I, M.-A., No. 80; Inama Sternegg, *D. W. G.*, II, p. 13. There is an English translation of the charter in Thatcher-MacNeal, *Source-Book for mediæval history*, No. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, loc. cit., Vol. III, pp. 264-268, and compare the map illustrating *Die Holländer-Kolonien in den Marschen um Bremen*, in Vol. III (Atlas), No. 86.

<sup>3</sup> The influence of the practice of the Carolingian fisc was a factor in promoting the extension of the Dreifeldersystem. It seems to me that it is a defect of Meitzen's and Hanssen's treatment of the subject of the history of mediæval German agriculture, that both ignore too much this influence. Meitzen (I, pp. 33-36, 67, 169) and Hanssen (*Agrarhistorische Abhandlungen*, I, p. 171) have focused their attention too exclusively

It is worth observing that there is a striking absence of those meticulous rights, services, and obligations in this new country, such as were familiar to the emigrants in their former homes. The multitude of trivial and exasperating obligations imposed upon the peasantry of older Europe at this time, and from which they had fled, is not found in Brandenburg.<sup>1</sup> Law and government in the early centuries of Germany's New East were simpler and more wholesome than in western and central Germany. The social spirit and temper of the people who settled the border provinces of Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were freer and more democratic (I use this word in a relative sense only, of course), less permeated by that class feeling which accented social relations in older and more feudal Germany, for the reason that the social texture of German frontier society was less complex, less closely knit. Albrecht was the freest and most untrammelled prince in Europe in the twelfth century. He was like William the Conqueror in 1066. There were few "traditional" rights and no antiquated feudal interests burdening the soil of Brandenburg when he acquired it. He could build a State and establish a society almost *de novo*. His political authority was simple and complete. Every person from peasant to baron and bishop was a subject of the margrave.<sup>2</sup>

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upon the important three-field region east and south of the Weser and overemphasize the influence of the system there upon other localities. It should be added, however, that in Brandenburg and Austria, owing to the large proportion of Wendish peasantry there, the agricultural régime shows admixture of Slavonic land survivals. Kovalevsky, *Oekonomische Entwicklung Europas*, III (1905), pp. 191, 215. On the institution of the *locator*, see Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, I, p. 196; Wohlbrück, *Gesch. des ehemaligen Bistums Lebus*, I, 200 ff.; Lavissee, *La marche de Brandebourg*, pp. 201-202; and especially Schulze, *Kolonisierung*, pp. 154-166. The following excerpts illustrate the form:

"Nos Henricus, Dei gratis episcopus . . . . volumus esse notum quod nos . . . . perspeximus, quod de Suscouth villa nostra episcopali . . . . nobis et nostræ ecclesiæ modicum utilitatis et commodi perveniret, prædictam villam . . . . fidei nostro . . . . ad locandum *iure teutonico* tradimus." Wohlbrück, I, p. 201. Cf. Heinemann, Albrecht der Bär, Nos. 39-41. On p. 204 Wohlbrück cites the sale by the prior of a women's convent situated at Czarnovans, in Upper Silesia, of 21 manors to a *locator* named Siegfried, who formed a new town in the way described, which was called Frauendorf. Riedel, loc. cit., instances a large number of places terminating in the suffix *dorf*, as Mertinstorf, Cunradstorf, Michelstorf, Gerhardstorf, Wilkendorp, etc. Schultze, *Richtsgeschichte*, 5th ed., 1881, §148, 5, claims that the German system of title-deed and land registration goes back to this form of grant.

<sup>1</sup> Conrad, III (anno 1150) for Havelberg: "Episcopus habeat facultatem ibidem ponendi et locandi colonos de quacunque gente voluerit vel habere potuerit, ea videlicet libertate, ut nullus dux, nullus marchio, nullus comes, seu vicecomes, nullus advocatus seu subadvocatus aliquam exactionem exinde extorquere audeat, nullus aliquod dominium sibi usurpare presumat, nullas petitiones publicas ibi faciat, nullus eos ad ligna portanda vel secanda vel faciendas fossas cogat." The same was true of the colonists around Bremen: Henric. Wolterî Chron. Brem., c. 1142: "Item voluit idem archiepiscopus, quod omnes villici et cultores agrorum ejusdem ecclesiæ liberi esse deberent ab omni censu civitatis vel villæ et quod essent liberi ab omni advocatia." (Cited by Inama Sternegg, D. W. G., II, p. 29, notes 1 and 2.)

<sup>2</sup> It must be admitted that this state of things changed with the decline of the Ascanian house and that Brandenburg in time was assimilated to the condition of the other and older principalities of Germany. But this history is later than the period with which this article is dealing, and, it should be noted, the unique social structure and political constitution of Brandenburg was never entirely done away with. Cf. Lavissee, loc. cit., pp. 228-229.

The peasants of Brandenburg as well as knight, baron, and bishop were all alike indebted to the margrave for their titles to the land. If they paid established taxes, which were few and simple when compared to what obtained elsewhere in Germany, they were free.<sup>1</sup> No wonder, as Lavissee, writing in 1875 well said, "the German immigrant in the Middle Ages went beyond the Elbe in order to find free land as to-day he is crossing the Atlantic."<sup>2</sup>

The endeavor has been made in this paper to trace the history of German eastward expansion from its inception down to the time when the Elbe became a German river. Perhaps one might take as culminating dates of the movement the year 1134, when Albrecht the Bear acquired Brandenburg, and 1158, the year in which Henry the Lion became possessed of Lübeck. Effective, permanent German life across the great river practically began with these two events. It is to be noticed, however, that these dates terminate only the first period of the history of German colonization.

While the rulers of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Nordalbingia were slowly building the superstructure of a great Germanic civilization in north Germany, which was to reach brilliant culmination in the cities of the Hanseatic League, the forward movement still drove on eastward over Pomerania, Silesia, and Pomerellia, and clear around the bight of the Baltic into Kurland and Esthonia under the leadership of the Teutonic Knights. When once the Baltic Slavs were crushed, the tribes east of them, deserted long since by Christianized Poland and Bohemia, fell an easy conquest to the German sword. Once the Elbe was permanently crossed, the other rivers were slight barrier to German advance. One after the other, in rapid succession, the Slav towns at the mouths of the Baltic rivers—Wollin, Stettin, Danzig, Riga—fell into German hands. The later history of German eastward colonization is a separate chapter which largely has to do with the origin and formation of the Hanseatic League. Helmold fails us here, and the story is carried on by Arnold of Lübeck and the archive material of the cities of the Hanseatic League, which now supplants both in volume and value the earlier annals.

Important phases of the history of even this first period have had to be eliminated in this article. The story of Dutch and Flemish colonization in Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth century has

<sup>1</sup> Compare Tuttle, *History of Prussia*, p. 29. A gloss of the *Sachsenspiegel*, which dates from the early fourteenth century, emphasizes this relation between a free soil and a freeman in Brandenburg. The peasants were free because they were the first to clear the land.

"Mit uns aber, das ist in der Marck, haben die gebawer auch Erb am zinfsgut, und mögen es lassen, wenn sie wollen, welches daher kommen ist, dass unser landt also sindt besetzt worden. Denn do solches gesehen, hat man den bawern die huffen erst wildt und unangebawet ausgeethan, welche, nachdem sie nochmals durch der leute arbeit sindt gebessert worden, Darumb mögen sie dieselbingen auch ihres gefallens verkaufen." (Cited in Biedel, *Die Marck Brand.*, II, p. 281, note; also Lavissee, *loc. cit.*, p. 204, note 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 204, note 1.

hardly been more than alluded to, and I have been forced to omit entirely any treatment of the subject of monastic colonization. The same may be said of the history of the commercial factor in German eastward expansion, and of the interesting Saxon mining colonies in the Erzgebirge and the Carpathians. The structure of villages, too, and the history which may be read in different forms of house and barn building, which moved with the German colonists across the whole of north Germany from the low countries to the Vistula can merely be mentioned as a subject which has yielded rich results to German scholarship.<sup>1</sup> The history of "the great deed of the German people in the Middle Ages" is too large and too complex to be compressed within the limits of a single article. The present paper has only endeavored to open the door to this great subject of German eastward colonization.

A knowledge of American history is not without value for an understanding of this movement. A young nation discovers the marks and indicia of its growth which are undiscernible in the early history of an old nation, whose tree trunk is covered with the lichen and moss of centuries. The newer, fresher, nearer history of America embodies principles of social development and the play of economic forces which have been foreign to Europe for 600 years. It still holds in solution, as it were, institutions which have been crystallized for generations across the sea. More than 30 years ago the Italian economist Loria said that "America has the key to the historical enigma which Europe has sought for centuries."

The frontier between the German and the Slav in the twelfth century interestingly exhibits characteristics which are familiar to every student of the history of American westward expansion. That "return to primitive conditions is a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development of that area," which Prof. Turner has pointed out as so significant in the history of the formation of the West is true of the east border of Germany in the twelfth century. Border ruffians and robbers infested the "marches."<sup>2</sup> One is reminded of Morris Birkbeck's observation touching the condition of southern Indiana in 1817:

The inhabitants of Indiana . . . are lawless, semibarbarous vagabonds, dangerous to live among. . . . An unsettled country, lying contiguous to one that is settled, is always a place of retreat for rude and even abandoned characters, who find the regulations of society intolerable.

By the beginning of the twelfth century Germany had become historically conscious of the worth of its frontier and as eager to occupy it as our forefathers here in America were. What the Trans-

<sup>1</sup> On this subject see Fritz, *Deutsche Städtenlagen*, Strassburg, 1894, with ground plans of German "colonial" cities; Heil, *Die deutschen Städte und Bürger im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1912; Melke, *Das deutsche Dorf*, Leipzig, 1913, and especially Püschel, *Das Anwachsen der deutschen Städte in der Zeit der mittelalterlichen Kolonialbewegung*, Berlin, 1910, which shows the relation between German eastward expansion and agricultural prosperity and urban growth. He studies the topography of 15 towns.

<sup>2</sup> Helm., I, 49, 66, 67, 87. Cf. notes 4 (*supra*, p. 139) and 8 (*supra*, p. 140).

Allegheny country was to the United States in 1800 that the Trans-Elban country was to Germany in 1200. The hardy rustics who tilled their little farms redeemed from marsh and swamp and forest in Ditmarsch and Holstein, in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, were men like unto our own ancestors in conditions of livelihood, in courage, in hope, in perseverance. Life on the east German border then was rude and crude and impinged as sharply upon the feelings of the cultured and refined society of older Germany as the Kentucky of Boone grated upon the sensibilities of staid tidewater communities like Baltimore or Philadelphia. The frontier as it advanced geographically reflected the reactions between the physiography and the society settling it by modifying inherited institutions to meet new conditions.<sup>1</sup>

An analogy between the two frontiers, though so far removed in time and place from each other, is not a fanciful one. The greed of the Americans for the lands of the Indians, and the intolerance of the rifleman toward the red man has a parallel in the conduct of the Saxons toward the Wends. The history of the Cherokees has its prototype in medieval Germany. The protest of the nameless Obodrite chief in Helmond I. ch. 53, against the erection of the *castellum* of Sigberg reminds one of the harangue of that Delaware chief recorded by Heckewelder. Niklot's reply to Adolph of Holstein is like that of a friendly Indian chief whose friendship has been betrayed.<sup>2</sup>

Every great nation, however old, has gone through a long, formative stage of development. If we could clear away the mold of ages of history around the roots of the nations, we not only would know more of their history but we probably would also perceive that there are certain primary characteristics which are roughly common to the formative period of every people. There is a parallel, not absolute, of course, but relative between the border history of medieval Germany and that of America. The German pioneer faced the wolf and the Wend; he endured the isolation and sometimes the desolation of his settlements; he felled the forests; he drained the swamps; he built up a civilization—often, it is true, with crude instruments and with unskilled hands. But for his own time, for his own country, for his own people, he accomplished a work as large and as lasting as the formation of our own Ohio and Mississippi commonwealths has been for the United States.

<sup>1</sup> By far the most important difference between East-Elbean and West-Elbean Germany was in the character of the agrarian system prevailing. The researches of G. von Below, *Territorium und Stadt*; of T. Knapp, *Gesammelte Beiträge zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*; of Fuchs (translated in Carver's *Readings in Rural Economics*, pp. 223-253 under the title "The Epochs of German Agrarian History and Policy"), have done much to modify or supplement the earlier work of Meitzen and Hanssen. The country east of the Elbe was, and still is, preeminently the region of great patrimonial landed estates [*Gutsherrschaften*]. In the words of Fuchs: "It was a threefold landed proprietorship, that of the reigning prince, of the German cloisters, which received as gifts vast tracts of land for colonization with German peasants, and of the great vassals constituting the high German and native nobility. . . . The large manorial estates in the East were from the very beginning geographically closed domains."

<sup>2</sup> Helmond, I, 62.

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VI. AMERICA AND EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY TO 1648.

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## AMERICA AND EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY TO 1648.<sup>1</sup>

By FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

In the last decade of the fifteenth century modern oversea commerce began. With envious eyes the maritime nations of Europe beheld richly-laden ships returning from America, the west coast of Africa, or the East Indies, and unloading their precious freights in the harbors of Spain or Portugal. France and England, and later Holland and Denmark, determined to divert some of this wealth into their own treasuries. Since Spain and Portugal claimed a monopoly of the trade, the excluded countries could enter it in only two ways—by force, or by inducing Spain and Portugal to alter their laws and admit them to the commerce. The former method was the more immediately successful. By 1648, however, the method of diplomacy had won important victories. It is the main purpose of this paper to describe the principal diplomatic arrangements which up to 1648, France, England, and the United Provinces, respectively, concluded with Portugal and Spain in regard to American trade or territory.

The history of the struggle of the European nations for participation in the profits of the American trade naturally falls into three periods. In the first, France was the most formidable opponent of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly. Jean Ango and his pilots led the attacking forces. This phase ended with the treaty concluded between France and Spain at Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. In the second period England took the place of France as the principal antagonist. Hawkins and Drake were the most conspicuous foes of Spain. This epoch extended to the treaty concluded between England and Spain at London in 1604. In the third period commercial maritime supremacy passed from England to the United Provinces. The Dutch West India Co., organized within this epoch, played a rôle similar in many respects to that of the French corsairs and English privateers; but in addition possessed great administrative powers. This period ended with the treaty concluded between the United Provinces and Spain at Münster in 1648.

Jean Ango and his pilots, Hawkins and Drake, and the Dutch West India Co., each attacked the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly

<sup>1</sup> Supporting evidence for the statements made in this paper will be found in the first volume to be published in 1917, of a collection of "European Treaties bearing on American History" to be issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

for the sake of pecuniary gain; each represented a syndicate of capitalists, and had government support; and the profits of each were derived partly from trade and partly from booty.

## I.

Throughout the first period, to 1559, France and Portugal were at peace; while during a great part of the same interval France and Spain were at war. As between France and Spain, Portugal posed as neutral. This, however, did not suffice to protect her vast colonial trade and territory, which she was unable to defend. Jean Ango, like the directors of the Dutch West India Co., "dreamed of an empire in Brazil." But when his pilots reached Brazilian waters they met the cruellest of receptions; and their sufferings caused them to undertake reprisals. The complaints arising from these reprisals, which Portugal, from 1516 onward, repeatedly made to France, proved unavailing and Portugal endeavored to frighten off the intruders. In 1526 the King of Portugal ordered his subjects under pain of death to run down all French vessels going to or returning from these distant territories. This and other instances of harshness on the part of Portugal and also of Spain toward interlopers were defended chiefly on the ground that the intruders were pirates, and that treaties provided that pirates should be put to death. On this pretext Charles V refused for a time to send back to France the companions of Fleury (the captor of Montezuma's treasure), although the treaty of Cambray had provided for the mutual return of all prisoners of war. For the same reason Philip II refused to deliver over the survivors of the Florida massacre, although the French ambassador protested that their enterprise was authorized by the Admiral of France. Under this name Hawkins, returning to England after a peaceful trading voyage, was denounced by the Spanish ambassador. Other instances might be cited.

But whatever the excuse for Portugal's treatment of French corsairs, France could not tamely accept it. In 1528 Francis I affirmed the principle of freedom of trade "as of all rights one of the most natural." Following a practice then in use, he granted to Ango and to one of his associates letters of marque, giving them the right to reimburse themselves for the losses which they had suffered from the Portuguese. General letters of marque were also issued enjoining the French admirals to permit all their captains, wherever they should be, to run down the Portuguese, seize their persons, goods, or merchandise and bring them to France. In 1531 the King of Portugal complained that the French had captured 300 of his ships. Unable to defend himself by force, he employed gold, and by bribing the French admiral managed to have Ango's letters of

marque revoked. In obtaining this revocation he was also helped by the intervention of the Emperor, Charles V, who in the matter of defending the oversea trade identified the interests of Portugal with his own. The reason for this identification is not far too seek—the Portuguese Islands of Madeira and the Azores were situated on or near the routes of ocean commerce. The Spanish fleets returning from America put in at the Azores, hence Spain must always keep on the best terms with Portugal. Hence, also, the Emperor's displeasure when in 1536 Portugal concluded a treaty with France which permitted the French to bring their prizes—i. e., Spanish ships—into all Portuguese havens and had the effect of making the harbors of the Azores and Madeira as well as of Portugal lurking places from which the French preyed upon the ocean shipping of Spain. In return Francis I forbade his subjects to sail to Brazil and Guinea; but when a few years later Portugal's bribery of the French admiral was discovered this prohibition was revoked.

The activities of Anglo's captains were directed not only against their Portuguese friends but also against their Spanish enemies. The sensational capture made by one of them of a part of Montezuma's treasure has already been referred to. In 1523 and 1525 the Cortes of Castile complained of the frequent and intolerable depredations committed by the French at sea, and their feeling appears to be reflected in the treaty of Madrid in 1526.

The question of admitting the French to the American trade seems to have been discussed in the negotiations for the Franco-Spanish truce of 1538, as it certainly was in connection with the treaty of 1544. In 1541 the Emperor had been greatly disturbed by Cartier's plan to colonize in Canada. Despairing of keeping the French altogether away from the new world, Charles V was willing to come to terms with them.

An article signed by the French commissioners in 1544 contained the following stipulation: That the King of France, his successors and subjects, would leave the Emperor and the King of Portugal at peace in all that concerned the East and West Indies and would not attempt any discoveries or other enterprises there. French subjects might, for purposes of trade only, go to both the East and the West Indies, but if they committed any acts of violence in going or returning they should be punished. This article was apparently acceptable to the Emperor and Prince Philip and to the president of the Council of the Indies. Other councilors believed that the permission to trade would lead to further trouble, because the French would not conduct it in accordance with regulations. The Council of the Indies urged that in this as in former treaties matters pertaining to the Indies should not be mentioned at all. If, however, the French were permitted to trade they should be held to the laws prohibiting the

removal of gold and silver from territory subject to Castile, even in exchange for merchandise, and their homeward-bound ships should be obliged to touch at Cadiz or San Lucar. The King of Portugal also objected to the article, declaring that the French went in armed ships not only for the purpose of trading but in order to rob with more security. The article seems never to have been ratified.

In the truce between France and Spain concluded in 1556 it was agreed that during the period of the truce the French should not sail to or trade in the Spanish Indies without license from the King of Spain. In a few months the truce was violated. The Venetian ambassador ascribed the rupture partly to the sending of French ships to the Indies "to occupy some place and hinder the navigation." The reference is to Villegagnon's colony in Brazil, which seemed a danger to Spain as well as to Portugal.

In the negotiations for the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, in 1559, the right of the French to go to the Spanish Indies was discussed repeatedly and at length.

The Spanish commissioners urged that Villegagnon should be recalled. They based their claim to a monopoly of the western navigation on the bulls of Popes Alexander VI and Julius II, and on the fact that Spain alone had borne the labor and expense of discovery. The French deputies argued that the sea was common. They would not consent to exclude Frenchmen from places discovered by them and not actually subject to the Kings of Portugal or Castile. On the other hand, they would agree that the French should keep away from lands actually possessed by the aforesaid sovereigns; or, as an alternative, that the Indies should not be mentioned, and if Frenchmen were found doing what they should not there, they might be chastised. King Philip did not approve of the former alternative. The Indies were therefore not mentioned in the treaty, but an oral agreement was made, the precise wording of which is not known. From accounts in Spanish and French documents it appears that it was to the effect that Spaniards and Frenchmen encountering one another west of the prime meridian might treat each other as enemies, without thereby giving ground for complaint of the violation of existing treaties. The location of the prime meridian remained a matter of dispute. In 1634 the King of France placed it at the island of Ferro, in the Canaries. Richelieu stated that Spain preferred to locate it farther west, in the Azores, because ships captured west of the prime meridian must be declared good prize.

The rule that might would be the only right recognized between nations west of the prime meridian was the one permanent result of Spanish-French diplomacy regarding America up to 1559, or indeed up to 1648. In the treaty of Vervins, in 1598, no better arrangement could be agreed on.

## II.

During the wars of religion in France the maritime strength of that nation fell to its lowest ebb. Leadership in maritime affairs, and hence in the effort to force an entrance into the American trade, passed to England—the second great antagonist of the Portuguese-Spanish monopoly. In 1553 a joint-stock company was founded in London for the Guinea trade. This intrusion of the English into regions claimed by Portugal led to repeated complaints by the ambassador of Portugal, who was supported by the ambassador of Spain. Important negotiations relative to the commerce with Portuguese colonies were in progress in 1555, 1561, 1562, and from 1569 to 1576. The treaty signed in 1576 permitted the English to trade in Madeira and the Azores, but did not mention Barbary, Guinea, or Brazil.

Between 1562 and 1568 Hawkins made three slave-trading voyages to the West Indies. Subsequently English privateers played havoc with Spanish shipping there, and in 1580 Drake returned from his voyage around the globe with treasure estimated at a million and a half sterling. The Spanish ambassador in London wrote that Drake was preparing for another voyage and that everybody wanted to have a share in the expedition. He therefore considered it in the King of Spain's interest that orders be given that no foreign ship should be spared in either the Spanish or the Portuguese Indies, but that every one should be sent to the bottom. War followed in a few years. Peace negotiations took place in 1588, 1600, and 1604. The negotiations of 1588 were insincere, at least on the part of Spain, in whose ports the Armada was preparing. But they have an interest as indicating England's attitude. Of her two main grievances against Spain, one was the restrictions imposed by Spain upon English trade to the newly discovered lands. The instructions issued to Elizabeth's commissioners also, in so far as they relate to the West Indies, are of interest. For they indicate that England based her claim to trade in the Indies upon the ancient treaties concluded between Charles V and Henry VIII providing for reciprocal trade in all of their dominions. On this ground, in 1566, Cecil asserted a right to the Indian trade, and the claim seems to explain Philip II's reluctance to renew these treaties. The Spanish view was that the Indies were a new world, to which treaties between European powers did not apply unless the Indies were indubitably referring to them.

Not until after the death of Elizabeth could peace be made. After the accession of King James negotiations were again undertaken. Concerning trade to the East and West Indies an arrangement was then effected, though no real agreement was reached. The instruc-

tions of the English commissioners in this matter were identical with those for the negotiations of 1600. They sanctioned only one concession, that Englishmen should be prohibited from going to any places in the Indies where the Spaniards were actually "planted"—a principle embodied in the charter granted to the English East India Co. on December 31, 1600. It was rejected by the Spaniards, who insisted that the English should be excluded from every part of the Indies, either expressly or by clear implication; or else that the King of England should declare in writing that his subjects would trade in the Indies at their own peril. These demands the English refused. Cecil and Northampton alleged that an express prohibition to trade would wrong James's honor since Spain had not put it in the treaties made with France and other princes. After much debate it was resolved that intercourse should be permitted in those places "in which there was commerce before the war, according to the observance and use of former treaties." These words were differently interpreted by each party. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty Cecil wrote to the English Ambassador in France:

If it be well observed how the [ninth] article is couched, you shall rather find it a pregnant affirmative for us than against us; for, sir, where it is written that we shall trade in all his dominions, that comprehends the Indies; if you will say, *secundum tractatus antiquos*, no treaty excluded it.

When the Venetian ambassador wished to hear from his majesty's own lips how he read the clause about the India navigation, and said, "Sire, your subjects may trade with Spain and Flanders, but not with the Indies." "What for no?" said the king. "Because," I replied, "the clause is read in that sense." "They are making a great error whoever they are who hold this view," said His Majesty; "the meaning is quite clear." The Spaniards, on the other hand, resolutely affirmed that the terms of the peace excluded the English from the Indies. However, as was remarked in the instructions, Spain was not able to bar out the English by force, and the latter not only continued their trade in the East, but in spite of Spanish opposition proceeded to colonize Virginia under a charter which allotted to the grantees a portion of America "not actually possessed by any Christian prince."

### III.

The memorable year of 1580, which saw Drake's return to England, witnessed also Spain's annexation of Portugal's vast empire and trade. The threat of Spain's sudden aggrandizement brought France and England together; and toward the close of the century the United Provinces joined the alliance against the common enemy. Several treaties provided for joint naval operations by England and

the United Provinces against Spain. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch outstripped Spain in the race for commercial supremacy. The Dutch East India Co., founded in 1602, undermined the power of the Portuguese in the East; and in Guiana, Brazil, Guinea, Cuba, and Hispaniola, the Dutch were also prosecuting an active trade. In 1607 peace negotiations between Spain and the United Provinces began. The hope of expelling the Dutch from the forbidden regions was believed by many to be the principal motive that induced Spain to treat. Another reason was the project of a Dutch West India Co. "that should with a strong fleet carry at once both war and merchandize into America." During the protracted negotiations one of the main points of dispute was the India trade. Both sides regarded the question as vital. The States brought forward three alternative means of accommodation: peace, with free trade to those parts of the Indies not actually possessed by Spain; peace in Europe, and a truce in the Indies for a term of years with permission to trade during that period; trade to the Indies "at their peril" after the example of the French and English. The Catholic deputies totally rejected the first and third propositions, but would submit the second to Spain if it were acceptably modified. They wished the States to declare expressly that they would abstain from going to the West Indies, and that in the East Indies they would not visit the places held by the Portuguese. The Dutch, who meanwhile had tried to frighten their opponents by showing a renewed interest in the West India Co., finally drafted what was deemed an acceptable article, but Spain insisted on their prompt withdrawal from both the East and West Indies as one of the two indispensable conditions for her recognition of their independence. Peace was unattainable, and negotiations were broken off. The French ambassador, however, persuaded the States to revive negotiations for a truce and to employ the French and English ambassadors as intermediaries. The principal point of difficulty was the India trade. The French ambassador labored for the end desired by the Dutch not because France wished to strengthen them unduly but because she was unwilling to restore Spain to her former power or to play into the hands of the English, who were believed to desire the trade for themselves. An article was finally agreed on which was a concession of the India trade veiled by circumlocutions. Traffic was permitted in Spain's European lands and in any other of her possessions where her allies were permitted to trade. Outside these limits (i. e., in the Indies) subjects of the States could not traffic without express permission from the King in places held by Spain, but in places not thus held they might trade upon permission of the natives without hindrance from the King or his officers. The agreement that Spain would not hinder the subjects



of the States in their trade "outside the limits" was also strengthened by a special and secret treaty in which the name Indies was again avoided. The name, however, appeared in an act signed by the French and English ambassadors, which certified that the archdukes' deputies had agreed that, just as the Dutch should not traffic in places held by the King of Spain in the Indies without his permission, so subjects of the King of Spain should not traffic in places held by the States in the Indies without their permission.

In 1621 the truce of 1609 expired and Spain declared war on the United Netherlands. Between 1621 and 1625 the Dutch negotiated with Denmark, France, and England to secure their alliance against Spain. The States General earnestly desired that these nations should co-operate with the Dutch West India Co., chartered by the States in 1621 for the purpose of attacking Spain's American possessions and treasure fleets as well as for trade, but the Danes and French preferred rather to share in the East India commerce. In 1621 the Dutch and Danish commissioners signed an agreement that in their journeys, trade, and navigation in the East and West Indies, Africa, and Terra Australis subjects of either party should befriend subjects of the other. The treaty between the Dutch and French merely stipulated that the question of traffic to the East and West Indies should be treated later by the French ambassador. The offensive alliance with England in 1625 enjoined attacks by both parties on Spain's dominions on both sides of the line and especially on the treasure fleets, and one of the results of this treaty was the opening of trade between the Dutch and the English colonists in North America.

During the 20 years following 1621 there were repeated negotiations for peace between the United Provinces and Spain. The most important took place in 1632 and 1633. They failed chiefly because no agreement could be reached on colonial matters, particularly those in which the Dutch West India Co. was involved. Since this company had captured the port of Pernambuco, in Brazil, it looked forward to a rapid extension of its authority and trade in this region and to profits from raids undertaken thence against the Spanish treasure fleets, the West India Islands, and Central America. Having acquired a great fleet equipped for war, it opposed any peace or truce with Spain that should extend beyond the Line, unless, indeed, Spain would permit the Dutch to trade in both Indies. Since Spain refused these demands, negotiations ended fruitlessly.

The negotiations at Münster from 1646 to 1648 were carried on under widely different circumstances from those of 1632, 1633, just mentioned. In 1646 peace was essential to the Spanish Government, exhausted by its efforts against domestic and foreign foes. Moreover, the chief obstacle to peace had been removed by her loss of Brazil

and other Portuguese colonies. On the other hand, the Dutch East and West India companies would willingly have continued the war. The West India Co. considered that if the two companies should be united it would be more profitable to continue hostilities in both Indies and Africa than to conclude any peace or truce with Spain. In case of a peace or truce the company desired freedom to trade in all places within the limits of its charter where the King of Spain had no castles, jurisdiction, or territory, and it further sought the exclusion of Spaniards from trade in all places similarly held by the company unless like privileges were granted to the company in places under the dominion of Spain. These stipulations were practically those agreed to in the truce of 1609. Somewhat modified they were finally included in the treaty of Münster, a treaty in which for the first time Spain granted to another nation, as a permanent concession, in clear and explicit terms, and with mention of the Indies, the right to sail to, trade, and acquire territory in America.

#### IV.

By treaties concluded in 1641 and 1642, Portugal, newly liberated from Spain, had legalized the trade which the Dutch and English had previously established with the African coast, and recognized Dutch possession of a part of Brazil.

Thus, in the fifth decade of the seventeenth century, the two Iberian powers, then bitterly estranged from each other, were both compelled to concede to certain European nations the right to occupation and trade in those oversea lands from which, since the period of discovery, they had endeavored to exclude them. But, as old walls were breached, new ones were erected. The Dutch, English, and French, having acquired much oversea territory and commerce, each tried to use them for the exclusive profit of their respective peoples, or even of certain of their own trading companies. Hence in 1648 the ideal of free ocean commerce and navigation, conceived long before by Grotius, remained unrealized.

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VII. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY  
IN SOUTH AMERICA.

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By PROF. BERNARD MOSES.

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## THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN SOUTH AMERICA.

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By BERNARD MOSES.

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The colonists who established themselves in America had no prevision of the character of the social structure destined to arise through their efforts combined with the forces of their environment. Under influences proceeding from these two sources the society of Spanish South America, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, had departed widely from that which its founders proposed to establish. It had acquired new ideals; and the spiritual life of the component persons rested, at least in part, on a new body of traditions.

But in the course of this change colonial life passed through three phases: The period when the veil of darkness that for ages had hung over this part of the world was gradually withdrawn; then the decades of settlement, when centers of civilized life were established, and the growing population retained the ideals and purposes of Spain; and finally the decades when part of the inhabitants were disposed to renounce the ideals of Spain and to form a new society.

It was in the second phase of her colonial enterprise that Spain performed the greater part of her constructive work with reference to America. The organization formed was a creation of the Spanish mind, the Spanish mind still true to its European conceptions. And the government of Spain was not less true to these conceptions in its remarkable efforts to carry the Christian faith to the Indians. Spanish America was moreover to be assimilated to the mother country not merely with respect to religion but also with respect to the form of society; its life was expected to grow into conformity with the European type. Distinct efforts were made to counteract any democratic influence or any non-European social forms that might issue from the conditions of a new country. A titled nobility was created and, where titles were not formally granted, the relation of the *encomendero* to his dependents offered a distinctly recognized superior and inferior. And whatever influence the church with its hierarchical order exerted was clearly in favor of centralized authority and in no sense suggestive of equality or of a democratic social

organization. In fact, in all the activity of the second phase of colonial life in South America there was no anticipation of a point of view different from that which had been traditional in Spain.

But in the first half of the eighteenth century there were indications that the Spanish view in its completeness had ceased to be entertained by at least a part of the colonial population. There were clear signs of the beginning of a new party, a new society, opposed to the opinions and plans of Spain. As soon as the colonists became conscious of their individuality as communities, the unconventional life of the frontier gave them a sense of freedom and independence which led inevitably to a reaction against a social organization that was created for other circumstances. This disposition on the part of the colonists was strengthened by Spain's attitude with respect to her American possessions. This attitude was determined in large measure by the prevailing opinion that a great gulf was fixed between the Spaniards who lived in Spain and the members of a Spanish colony. Aristocratic Spaniards, however, were not the only persons who emphasized this distinction; it was made by every colonizing nation of Europe. But on this subject, as on many subjects, Spain's views were those of an extremist.

The depreciation of colonists was so extreme and general that Spanish parents who emigrated held in very different regard their children who were born in Spain and those who were born later in America. In public affairs the same prejudice was manifest. The high civil and ecclesiastical offices were given to Spaniards but not to creoles. But in the course of time the creoles became a numerous class. They acquired wealth, and many of them, taking advantage of the facilities for instruction in Lima, Cordova, Santiago, Bogotá, and Caracas, as well as in different parts of Europe, became men of extensive intellectual attainments and cultivation. They knew the circumstances and needs of the colonies, and were conscious of their own fitness to have a part in the colonial government. When, therefore, they were excluded from public office they very naturally felt that they were the victims of an unjust discrimination. By this attitude of the Spanish Government all persons thus unjustly affected, their relatives, their friends, and their dependents were drawn together into the solidarity of an increasingly powerful opposition.

Even in her virtuous solicitude for the welfare of her unmarried daughters, Spain strengthened this opposition and helped to prepare for a social revolution in America. By positive law and by the restraints of an efficient administrative system unmarried Spanish women were prevented from emigrating, but a large number of the persons who went to the colonies were unmarried men. The inevitable consequence of this state of affairs was the rise of a large

class of mestizos, who became affiliated with the increasing class of creoles.

Another consequence of the amalgamation of the Spanish and Indian peoples was the creation of marked differences among the populations of different districts. The differing Indian peoples in their union with Spaniards produced descendants of varying qualities. Much of the character of the bold, hardy, independent Araucanian reappeared in the Chilean mestizo. The gentle Peruvian Indians, on the other hand, under the severe discipline of their rulers, were unfavorably placed for developing heroic qualities; and they passed on to their mestizo descendants the virtues of gentleness and amiability rather than the sterner qualities of a warlike people. Thus, in the course of time, within the limits of her South American dominions, Spain had to deal not with one homogeneous people, but with a number of nations, who, although using a common language, were about as unlike one another as are the nations of Western Europe. These differences of character among the inhabitants of the several political divisions imposed a heavy administrative task upon Spain at a time when she was undertaking to govern her vast colonial empire under a system which took no account of social differences or the varying demands of unlike climatic conditions. Under this state of things Spain's government of her dependencies became gradually more ineffective, and this lessening of the disciplinary power of the legitimate régime permitted the growth of the creole-mestizo party of opposition and the development in it of community self-consciousness and a certain sense of independence. While the application of Spain's rigid system of colonial government might find favor in one quarter, it tended to provoke dissatisfaction and a temper of revolt in another. It pleased Lima, because the merchants of that city enjoyed important commercial privileges; but Buenos Aires had not privileges, had not even the advantages of freedom of trade, and consequently manifested a rapidly declining loyalty; and, as subsequent events proved, the chain of provincial administrations in the colonies was no stronger than the weakest link. The triumphant self-assertion of the new society in one province meant its ultimate domination in all other provinces. The line of cleavage between the new society and the old, between the creole-mestizo element and the Spanish element, appeared from one viewpoint, as the line between privileges and no privileges, between the recipients of political favors and those who were excluded from such favors.

In view of the fact that many of the Indians, notably the Chibchas, of Colombia, and the Aymaras, of Peru, represented a certain phase of civilization, the mestizos shaded off imperceptibly into the Indians of pure blood. In connection with this fact one is able to see the

importance of that feature of Spain's policy, which provided for the adoption of the Indians as members of the colonial society. This was in marked contrast with the English plan. The Spaniards accepted the Indian but assigned him a social position like that held by the dependent class recognized in the European feudal order. With the Indians in feudal subjection to Spaniards it was thought to be possible to preserve in Spanish America differentiated classes corresponding with those of Europe. But the more important result of the adoption of the Indians into the body of colonial society was the fact that, separated by their dependent position from the Spanish *encomenderos* and official class, they became attached to or embodied in the *creole-mestizo* element, and thus constituted an effective part of the new society.

In what may be called the germ of colonial society there was no middle class between the *encomendero* and his dependent Indians, but the lack was supplied in the course of time by the appearance of the *mestizos*, the landless *creoles*, and the adopted Indians. The development continued until the population of Spanish South America embraced, on the one hand, a class of Spanish officials and other Spaniards who conserved the interests and traditions of Spain, and, on the other hand, the combined classes of *creoles*, *mestizos*, and Indians. When this point had been attained, a far-reaching social change was impending. Its practical crisis, or the self-assertion of the hitherto suppressed party, was delayed by the isolation of the colonies and the consequent absence of free intellectual activity. During the seventeenth century this isolation was practically complete, except for the infrequent communication that was maintained between the colonies and Spain. No enlightenment came to them from the English colonies, for these colonies were still in the period of their feeble beginnings, and the subjects of other European nations were effectually excluded. The importation of books of information was prohibited, and no ray of light reached them, except that which passed through the distorting mind of the Spanish ecclesiastic.

A certain change was, however, effected in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Philip V, a grandson of Louis XIV, ascended the throne of Spain, and the Government at Madrid was controlled in all essential particulars by the King of France. This fact was interpreted by the French people to mean that so far as the French were concerned the exclusiveness of the Spanish colonial system was broken down. French merchants and French men of science visited the western shore of South America, and the colonial markets were filled with wares which had not been seen there before. Many Frenchmen belonging to the expeditions to the Chilean or Peruvian ports abandoned their places on the ships and remained to exert a



more or less direct influence on the affairs of the colonies. But in less than a score of years the long reign of Louis XIV had ended; the Government at Madrid had become emancipated, and the ports of the Spanish colonies were once more formally closed against the foreign invader. The old policy of privilege and unjust discrimination was continued. The viceroys, the captains general, the judges, the high ecclesiastics, the bulk of the priests, in short, all the holders of desirable offices, continued to be sent from Spain; and men born in the colonies, whatever might be their attainments or fitness for the posts in question, were neglected, were left without political recognition. The line excluding the creoles, the mestizos, and the Indians from any participation in the public affairs that concerned them was becoming every year more distinct. The unwise Government at Madrid sought to strengthen the barrier between two sections of the colonial population.

The Spanish reaction against French influence after the death of Louis XIV tended to confirm the loyalty of the colonial officials; but it did not remove the alienation of the increasing body of creoles, mestizos, and Indians. The line of separation became fixed, and although the Spanish Government appears to have been entirely unaware of the fact, in the neglected members of the colonies were laid the foundations of a new society. From this point onward through the succeeding decades of Spanish colonial politics we observe the decline of one section of the population and the rise of the other section. We observe, moreover, the attempt on the part of Spain to govern the colonies in accordance with her original plan, and the recurring evidence of her inability to adapt herself to the changing conditions and the changing needs of the colonies. Three facts in this history, however, assured the superiority and ultimate domination of the creole-mestizo class. One of these was the continuation by the Spanish Government of its uncompromising, repelling, and exclusive attitude toward that class, thus keeping alive class antagonisms; another was the fact that the number of persons born in the colonies, creoles and mestizos, in a given period, was in excess of the number added to the population by immigration; a third was the fact that the creoles and mestizos were practically the only persons who were sufficiently open-minded to receive the liberal ideas that gradually drifted into the colonies from foreign countries, particularly from England and the now awakened English colonies in America. The failure of the Spaniards living in the colonies to be influenced by imported ideas was not due to any intellectual inferiority on their part as compared with the creoles, but to the fact that they were placed in a non-receptive mood by the offices or commercial privileges which they enjoyed, and by their natural adherence to the ideas and spirit of Spain. All the higher officials, civil, military,

and ecclesiastical, were opposed to any access of liberalism, since their privileges were created and upheld by the Government's conservative policy, and coming as they did from Spain, they very naturally stood for the ideas dominant in the country they had left. Thus the enlightenment which gradually streamed in through the breaking walls of Spain's exclusiveness influenced especially the members of the new society. Their attainment of more liberal ideas through their growing connection with England and the English colonies carried them further and further from the position of those who represented the old order of things. The new society became more and more clearly conscious of the separation. It became conscious, moreover, that its interests were opposed to the purposes of the Spanish Government; and that these interests would be properly safeguarded only by its control of the public affairs which concerned its members.

The discussions, the agitation, the rebellions, and the military campaigns of the later decades of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century gave evidence of dissatisfaction with the old order of affairs, and reveal efforts, often misdirected, to realize new ideals.

In the presence of influences designed to preserve in America the forms and the spirit of European society, in the presence of monarchical traditions and monarchical experience, in the presence of a titled nobility and a powerful ecclesiastical aristocracy, there was no possibility of organizing governments or establishing social conduct that did not involve the fundamental ideas of the new society. These ideas and the sentiments of the new society became dominating factors. The creole-mestizo element of the population resented the centuries-long manifestation of Spain's arrogance and exclusiveness; it resented the injustice of her social discrimination; and this resentment, now that the society was predominantly creole-mestizo, repudiated the monarchy of Spain and all its social appurtenances. The new society made the new States.

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VIII. SEA POWER: THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN OUR STRUGGLE  
FOR INDEPENDENCE.

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By FRENCH E. CHADWICK,  
*Rear Admiral, United States Navy, retired.*

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## SEA POWER: THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

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By FRENCH E. CHADWICK.

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On October 11-13, 1776, there was a most gallantly contested fight on Lake Champlain, in which the American flotilla of 15 small craft, carrying about 700 men under Benedict Arnold, was destroyed by a British force of much greater strength. Though completely defeated, the mere existence of this force throughout the summer of 1776 was the chief cause of our success in the Revolution.

It was thus: Burgoyne was at Quebec in 1776, with an army of 13,000 men, intending to advance down the valley of Lake Champlain and the Hudson and thus to separate New England from the rest of the colonies. He was prevented from doing this that year through the building of Arnold's flotilla. A similar British force had to be prepared to overcome this before Burgoyne could venture, and in this work the whole summer passed. Though the struggles of October 11 to the 13th resulted in the total destruction of the American force, it was for the British a Pyrrhic victory in the largest sense, for, instead of a triumphal progress by Burgoyne south in that year (which but for this action would have been), he was the next year to meet the gathering of a resistance by the Americans such as was impossible in 1776. He was also to be deprived in 1777 of the cooperation of the British forces at New York, two-thirds of their total of 22,000 men being carried by Sir William Howe to Philadelphia at the very moment when their cooperation with Burgoyne would have ended the war. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga on October 17, 1777. This surrender brought the French Alliance, signed February 6, 1778, and with it the naval support which was a *sine qua non*, to our success.

There is no use to analyze British conduct in the bringing about of Burgoyne's surrender. It was military incapacity, pure and simple. One can only wonder.

By April 13, two months after the signing of the French treaty, Vice Admiral the Count d'Estaing sailed from Toulon with 12 battle-ships and 6 frigates. Never had man a finer chance. Admiral Howe was in the Delaware with a much inferior force awaiting the British

evacuation of Philadelphia, anxious to cover the transport back to New York of the impedimenta of the army impossible to carry by land. Had d'Estaing bent his energies to making a more rapid passage he would have found Hood in the Delaware, where he could have blockaded the latter's far inferior force with part of his own and, with the remainder, taken New York, then totally undefended by any naval force. The War of the Revolution would have ended then and there. But d'Estaing was 33 days in going even the 760 miles to Gibraltar. He was 52 from Gibraltar to the Delaware, reaching there July 7, 1778. Hood had got to sea nine days before and was inside of Sandy Hook, where he prepared for an attack, which d'Estaing finally concluded not to make.

The fiasco of the attack on Newport followed, but here the fault was wholly with the Americans. D'Estaing, on request of Gen. Sullivan, lay off the harbor practically quiescent 10 precious days, the British meanwhile sinking their ships, and preparing for an attack by the fleet which, if made, could have but one result. Sullivan's desire to have his own forces (not yet gathered) figure largely, caused a fatal delay which ended in Admiral Hood's appearance off Point Judith with his fleet the day before the arranged-for attack was to come off. D'Estaing, who had now at last entered the bay, meeting no resistance of moment, at once went out to meet Hood, his inferior in force; but he also met an August gale which dismasted many ships of both fleets, and he went to Boston to refit. He sailed thence on November 4, 1778, for the West Indies, a region the preservation of which seemed much more important than the United States, to both the French and the British and where d'Estaing, now in command of the large French naval forces there, met with some real success. Such could, however, in no degree compensate for the failures on our own coast, which by his departure was left open to British attack in its whole length. And it was now attack of the most ruthless character. There are few records of warfare more brutal than that which now characterized British procedure in America. The era of Howe pacifism had passed; and under Clinton, acting by specific orders from home, the burning of towns, the slaughter of prisoners, the murders by savages (led by British officers) of women and children in peaceful frontier settlements surpassed anything in the history of civilized warfare. It is an era not to be forgotten nor to be weakly condoned.

In December, 1778, immediately after d'Estaing's departure south, the British had occupied Savannah. On October 31, 1779, d'Estaing came thither with 22 battleships, landed troops, and was repulsed. At the end of two months of abortive effort the great French fleet was dispersed in a heavy gale. D'Estaing, leaving the rest of his scattered ships to find their way to the West Indies, returned alone

with his flagship to France, and British armaments were free to work their will.

Very nearly two years of misery were to pass—years of leanness and despair in which, but for the mighty and unconquerable spirit of Washington, America must have succumbed and returned to British allegiance. It is true that on May 2, 1780, the Chevalier de Ternay had left France with seven battleships and three frigates, convoying a little army of about 5,000 men under the Comte de Rochambeau which arrived at Newport on July 11, 1780. But to what good? There they stayed for a whole year, able to do nothing. It was ships which were wanted much more than soldiers. This was recognized to the full by Washington himself, who stands with Bacon and Raleigh in his appreciation of what sea power meant. It took a hundred years more to bring home this truth to the minds of men in general, embodied as it was in Washington's memorandum of July 15, 1780, sent to Rochambeau on his arrival at Newport by the hands of Lafayette. This memorandum expressed as fully this meaning as it was ever declared by anyone. It said, referring of course to our own situation of the moment:

In any operation and under all circumstances a decisive naval superiority is to be considered a fundamental principle and the basis upon which every hope of success must depend.

Our southern States were now, as mentioned, ravaged by the enemy. Charleston had fallen; the incapable Gates, sent south on the strength of the success at Saratoga, which was due, in fact, to others, had been totally defeated; de Ternay's few ships at Newport and Rochambeau's lean force of 5,000 men were a nullity in face of Britain's naval predominance. Arnold's treason had almost at once followed Rochambeau's arrival. De Ternay himself died in December, 1780, from chagrin, says Lafayette, at the apparently hopeless situation. As the months went on and 1781 was reached, Virginia was ravaged by troops under Philips and the traitor Arnold. Greene, succeeding Gates, was now holding his own in the Carolinas against Cornwallis, who suddenly moved into Virginia, which now became the main theater of the war.

It was now that there began a series of events of the most extraordinary and fortunate character, events which were to change the whole aspect of the war, fulfilling Washington's dictum to Rochambeau in the previous year and bringing American independence.

Comte de Grasse sailed from Brest on March 22, 1781, with 20 ships of the line as a reenforcement for the French in the West Indies. One ship of the line, convoying 600 troops and money for Rochambeau's force, was diverted to Newport. A frigate, *La Concorde*, also separated from de Grasse for Boston, carrying Rochambeau's son, Colonel, the Vicomte de Rochambeau, and the Comte de

Barras, ordered to succeed the dead de Ternay. De Barras, who arrived at Boston on May 6, 1781, and at Newport on the 10th, carried to the Comte de Rochambeau a letter from M. de Castries, the minister of marine, informing him that he would receive word from the Comte de Grasse when the latter might be expected in American waters and saying that de Grasse "has 20 ships; he will find 10 at the islands, and you have 8 more to give him. So that, as he is master of his own movements, with authority to unite or to separate his forces, I trust he may control the American coasts for some time to come, and that he may cooperate with you if you are projecting any enterprise in the north."<sup>1</sup>

This was the first link of the chain which led to Yorktown.

The naval and military situations were as follows: Washington was on the Hudson with nominally 6,000 men, but in reality not more than half that number of effectives. At Newport, R. I., and in various neighboring cantonments there were 5,000 French under Rochambeau. In Newport Harbor there were eight French battleships, one having joined from de Grasse's fleet.

At New York there were some 10,000 British troops, regulars and provincials, under Sir Henry Clinton, commander in chief of the British land forces in America, and a squadron of 10 battleships under Admiral Arbuthnot, who was relieved on July 2 by Rear Admiral Thomas Graves. Cornwallis was advancing north into Virginia, and on May 20 made junction at Petersburg with the army of some 2,400 men, which, until May 13, when he died, was under Gen. Philips, with the traitor Arnold second in command. Arnold was soon, on the plea of ill health, to go to New York. Cornwallis's command was now some 5,000 men, soon to be increased to about 7,000.

In the West Indies there was a British fleet of 22 battleships under Rodney, who was about leaving for England on leave of absence. With him as second in command was Sir Samuel Hood. There were also four battleships at Jamaica. The French force, as has been mentioned, was on de Grasse's arrival to be not less than 28 battleships. Cornwallis's actual presence in Virginia was of course not yet known to Washington when, on May 21, he and Rochambeau met at Wethersfield to consult over the great news brought by de Barras of the expectancy in the North of the French fleet. In the conditions as they appeared at the moment Washington rather favored an attack on New York, Rochambeau leaning to the South. The latter's views were strengthened by dispatches to Clinton from Germain, the British minister of war, dated the 7th of February and the 7th of March captured by a privateer and delivered to Washington at

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<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter Books of Rochambeau cited in Tower, *The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution*, II, 283.



Wethersfield, showing "that the purpose of the British ministry was to capture the Southern States and after them the Middle States, in order to drive the Continental Army to the eastern side of the Hudson River."<sup>1</sup>

A campaign of counter operations in the South was an attractive proposition from certain points of view. Certainly Washington was not the man to stand by and witness the desolation of his native State unmoved. But matters were of deep complexity. It was not yet known what de Grasse would do. De Barras himself was unwilling to move to the Chesapeake. The conclusions reached are shown in the formal question of Rochambeau and the reply of Washington. The former was:

If the fleets from the West Indies should arrive in these waters, an event which will probably be announced beforehand by a frigate, what operations will Gen. Washington have in view after a juncture of the French troops with his own?

Washington's reply was to the effect that the enemy at New York having been reduced by detachment to less than half the force which they had in September, 1780, it was advisable to unite the French and American forces on the North River and move to the vicinity of New York "to be ready to take advantage of any opportunity which the weakness of the enemy may afford. Should the West Indian fleet arrive on the coast . . . either proceed in the operation against New York" or "against the enemy in some other quarter, as circumstances should dictate." The difficulties of a move South were dwelt upon and the preference for an operation against New York "in the present circumstances over an attempt to send a force to the southward" reiterated.

With this understanding Rochambeau returned to Newport.

On May 28 Rochambeau, now assured of the intention of the French Government that de Grasse should at least at some time appear on the coast, wrote a letter to the admiral to go by *La Concorde* from Boston, saying:

The enemy is making the most vigorous efforts in Virginia. Cornwallis is marching from Wilmington near Cape Fear to join on the Roanoke at Halifax with the corps of Philips and Arnold, which goes to make up an army of 6,000 men at Portsmouth, Va., . . . whence with his small armed vessels he ravages all the rivers of Virginia. . . . Gen. Washington is certain that there remain at New York but 8,500 regular troops and 3,000 militia. He has pressed the Count de Barras to go with the French troops to Chesapeake Bay. M. de Barras has shown the impossibility of this. He then pressed for the junction of the French army with his own on the North River to cojointly menace and perhaps attack New York. M. de Barras says that as soon as the army leaves he will go to Boston, following out his orders. There will remain

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<sup>1</sup> Tower, op. cit.; *Memoirs de Rochambeau* (Paris, 1809), I, 278; Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, VIII, 519.

at Newport 500 American militia to hold the works, which the enemy does not appear to be in a position to attack.

Some days since the English squadron cruised off here five or six days. Four of them stood to sea, it is supposed, to return to New York or toward the Chesapeake to assist the offensive operations in the South. There are seven ships of the line—one of three decks, three seventy-fours, three sixty-fours, two fifties, four forty-fours, and many frigates. These last are not always with the squadron; they spread themselves about in support of their different movements.

This is the state of things and of the severe crisis in which America finds herself, and particularly the States of the South, at this moment. The arrival of the Count de Grasse can save it; all our means at hand can do nothing without his assistance and the naval superiority which he can bring.

There are two points at which to act offensively against the enemy—the Chesapeake and New York. The southeast winds and the distress of Virginia will probably cause you to prefer the Chesapeake Bay, and it is there where we think you can render the greatest service; besides, it would take you only two days to come to New York. In any case it is essential to send us, well in advance, a frigate to forewarn the Comte de Barras as to the place at which you will land, as also Gen. Washington, in order that the first may join you and the second may support you with the land forces.

Rochambeau added a postscript three days later, informing de Grasse that Barras had decided to remain at Newport. This decision was the result of a council of war made up of officers of both Army and Navy.

On June 10 arrived at Boston the ship of the line *Sagittaire*, bringing a letter dated March 29 from de Grasse himself to Rochambeau:

His Majesty, Monsieur, has confided to me the command of the naval forces which he has destined to protect his possessions in Southern America [the West Indies] and those of his allies in the north. The forces I command are sufficient to satisfy the views as to the offensive which it is in the interest of the allied powers to carry out in order to bring an honorable peace. . . .

He requested to be informed at Santo Domingo, "where I shall be at the end of June," of the British naval forces, north; requested that word be sent by several despatch vessels; and ended by saying that it would be toward the 15th of July at the earliest that he could reach our coast; "but it is necessary," he added, "seeing the short time I can stay in the country, which in any event the season will force me to leave, that everything which can serve in the success of your projects shall not delay action a moment."

Rochambeau replied the day of the reception of the letter, June 11, informing de Grasse that Washington had written him four letters since his previous writing on May 28, pressing him to move, that he expected to join in five or six days and try in menacing New York to make a diversion in favor of Virginia. He continued:

I can not conceal from you that Washington has not half the troops he counted on having, and I believe, though he is reticent on this, that he has not at present 6,000 men; that M. de la Fayette has not 1,000 regular troops, including the militia, to defend Virginia, and about as many more on the way to

join him. . . . It is then of the greatest consequence that you take aboard all the troops you can; 4,000 or 5,000 would not be too many, to attack the force at Hampton Roads and then to force the Hook, the land troops taking possession of Sandy Hook which would facilitate the entry of the fleet over the bar. We are sure the *Sandwich*, Rodney's flagship in September, and the *London*, Graves's flagship more lately, have entered and gone out; finally, in order to aid us after the siege of Brooklyn, supposing we are able to establish ourselves with 8,000 men at this point of Long Island, keeping 5,000 or 6,000 at North River to mask King's Bridge. I point out, Monsieur, the different objects you can have in view and the actual and grievous picture of affairs in this country. I am sure you will bring there a maritime superiority, but I can not too often repeat to bring also troops and money.

He repeated also the necessity of forewarning Barras and Washington, and added a postscript:

I observe by a letter which the Chevalier de la Luzerne has written you that M. Washington appears to wish you to land first at the Hook in front of New York, in order to cut off Arbuthnot's squadron from anchoring there. I subordinate my opinion to his, as I am bound to do; but our latest advices indicate that the enemy's squadron, after having anchored for several days outside the Hook, has put to sea and gone toward the South.<sup>1</sup>

"This letter," says Tower, "and the one which Gen. de Rochambeau wrote in the last days of May are, with regard to their results, among the most important historical documents of the Revolution, for they laid the basis upon which was established the cooperation of the allied forces in the Yorktown campaign."<sup>2</sup>

This correspondence and the minutes of the Wethersfield meeting, May 21 and 22, show very clearly the minds of both the American and French commanders. Washington saw in New York the central stronghold of the British power, in which, of course, he was correct. Cornwallis, supposedly still in North Carolina, threatened Virginia, but if the allies should move thither, he would be immediately heavily reinforced from New York, and with the British fleet holding Chesapeake Bay and its affluences, it was hopeless to expect any good result. On the other hand, a demonstration against New York would, as shown by Clinton's certainty of being attacked and his anxiety for reinforcements of not less than 3,000 men from Cornwallis,<sup>3</sup> have relieved the pressure in the South. The main objective, viewed from the standpoint of the twentieth century, was New York. A series of fortuitous circumstances simply made the southern movement more advisable. In the whole there was a wonderful element of luck.

It is thus in no sense derogatory, but otherwise, to Washington's judgment that he was at first inclined to a naval attack upon New

<sup>1</sup> For this correspondence, see H. Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États Unis d'Amérique* (1892), V, 488-490. Appendix, Correspondence of Comte de Rochambeau.

<sup>2</sup> Tower, II, 400.

<sup>3</sup> See dispatch, Clinton to Cornwallis, June 11, 1781, Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, II, 18-23.

York, should the fleet arrive, rather than adventure south with no such objective as was shortly to offer itself, for it was not until July 13 that Washington was able to inform Rochambeau that, by information received on the 3d, Cornwallis was between Richmond and Fredericksburg, "free from his superiority of force to go where he would." It is clear from the conference of July 19 that even at that date Washington regarded New York as the most important objective for the fleet if all conditions of time of arrival, length of stay, etc., should be favorable.<sup>1</sup> Some, including Doniol and the present honored French ambassador to the United State, M. Jusserand, have raised the question as to the initiator of the move against Cornwallis. They have not recognized that they are doing an injustice to Rochambeau's memory in supposing an over-hasty advocacy of a transfer of the allied armies to the south. It is an unnecessary and futile claim. It was a matter decided by the trend of events and by the final greater ease of the proposition. It is scarcely amiss to say that de Grasse naturally leaned to what appeared the less difficult for the fleet. D'Estaing's failure at New York was still very fresh in mind and the incomparably greater ease of access to the Chesapeake if no British fleet was in occupancy was not to be denied. Washington and Rochambeau worked indeed in finest accord and with absolute singleness of purpose. The noble self-effacement of Rochambeau deserves all praise. He placed himself entirely at Washington's command. In his own words, "Vous ferez de moi ce que vous voudrez."<sup>2</sup>

On June 18, 1781, a year less 23 days from its arrival in America, the French Army, leaving some 430 artillerymen and all their siege guns to support Barras's squadron in case it should be attacked, started toward the Hudson to join Washington, who, by July 4, occupied a line from Dobbs Ferry to White Plains. The French arrived and occupied the east end of the line on July 6.

Clinton, apprehensive of attack, was desirous that Cornwallis should send back to New York some of the 7,724 troops sent to Virginia between October, 1780, and June, 1781. Cornwallis, who now moved to Portsmouth, Va., declared, however, that it was impossible to hold his own in Virginia with less than the force he had with him, which now, with a late reinforcement of 1,700, amounted as mentioned to over 7,000 men. The selection of a point d'appui was ordered, Old Point Comfort being specially named. The engineer and naval officer who inspected the position declared against it, and the main body of Cornwallis's force finally left the vicinity of Norfolk for York River on July 30, and the whole force was at Yorktown and Gloucester by August 20.

The *Concorde* did not leave Boston until June 20. She had a swift, safe passage to Cape François. De Grasse had left Fort Royal, Marti-

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Conference, Doniol, V, 518.

<sup>2</sup> Doniol, IV, 680.

nique, on July 5. He arrived at Cape François on July 26, where he found four ships of the line left there the year before by Guichen. On August 12 the *Concorde*, carrying de Grasse's reply dated July 28, reached Newport, and two days later his letter was in the hands of Rochambeau and Washington. De Grasse announced his intention to leave on August 3 (it was two days later that he sailed) for the Chesapeake:

The point which appears to me to be indicated by you, Monsieur le Comte, and by M. Washington, de Luzerne, and de Barras, as the one from which the advantage you propose may be most certainly attained.

He had engaged at Habana the 1,200,000 livres requested by Rochambeau; had arranged to embark 3,000 infantrymen, 100 artillerymen, 100 dragoons, 10 field pieces, a number of siege guns and mortars, part of the Santo Domingo garrison, all under the command of the Marquis de Saint Simon. He announced that he could only remain upon our coast until October 15, on account of operations planned by the allied French and Spanish officers. He had acted wholly on his own responsibility and could not venture to change their arrangements by delay beyond the time set.

On August 5 de Grasse left Cape Hatien with 28 ships of the line, and, going by way of the Old Bahama Channel, anchored his fleet in three columns on August 30 just within the capes of the Chesapeake. Barras, five days before, had left Newport with 6 ships of the line, 4 frigates, and 18 French and American transports; and Cornwallis, as mentioned, only 10 days before had completed the removal of his force from Portsmouth to Yorktown. He had, in addition to his army, about 1,000 seamen belonging to several frigates and smaller men-of-war, and a considerable number of transports.

Washington had broken camp on August 19, five days after the reception of the news of de Grasse's departure. He crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry on August 21. By the 25th both armies were across. The march south began with every caution against a revelation of destination, and with endeavor to give the impression to the British of a contemplated attack on Staten Island. Clinton was completely misled. The Delaware was forded at Trenton, and on September 5, the day of Graves's arrival off the capes of the Chesapeake, the Army reached Philadelphia, where Washington had arrived six days before. The march was continued thence to the head of Elk at the north end of Chesapeake Bay.

The Continental Army which marched south under Washington numbered only 2,000 men. The French were 4,000. Celerity was of the utmost importance, for if Lafayette failed to hold Cornwallis, and he should escape to North Carolina, the situation would be of the most serious character. The aid of the 3,000 troops under Saint Simon brought from Santo Domingo, which de Grasse had at once,

after communicating with Lafayette, sent into the James River, was now of greatest value. These, landed at Jamestown on September 2, effectually settled the question of Cornwallis's retreat southward.

Washington was at this moment at Philadelphia, whence on September 2 he wrote Lafayette:

Distressed beyond measure to know what had become of the Comte de Grasse, and for fear that the English fleet [which he now knew had left Sandy Hook on August 31] by occupying the Chesapeake, toward which my accounts say they were steering, may frustrate all our flattering prospects in that quarter, I am also not a little solicitous for the Comte de Barras, who was to have sailed from Rhode Island on the 23d ultimo, and from whom I have heard nothing since that time.<sup>1</sup>

Washington left Philadelphia on September 5 for the head of Elk. His anxiety would have been still greater had he known that at that moment de Grasse was getting underway to leave the bay and fight a battle with Graves.

As to the British fleet: On July 2 Admiral Arbuthnot had sailed for England, leaving Rear Admiral Graves in command. On the same day the latter wrote a letter to Rodney which he sent by the brig *Active*, saying that intercepted dispatches showed that a heavy reinforcement was expected from the West Indies to cooperate with de Barras's squadron at Newport in operations on the American coast. But Rodney was already informed, and on July 7, then at Barbados, he wrote the admiral at New York:

As the enemy has at this time a fleet of 28 sail of the line at Martinique, a part of which is reported to be destined for North America, I have dispatched His Majesty's sloop *Swallow* to acquaint you therewith and inform you that I shall keep as good a lookout as possible on their motions, by which my own shall be regulated.

In case of my sending a squadron to America I shall order it to make the capes of Virginia and proceed along the coast to the capes of the Delaware, and from thence to Sandy Hook unless the intelligence it may receive from you should induce it to act otherwise.

The enemy's squadron destined for America will sail, I am informed, in a short time; but whether they call at Cape François, I can not learn; however, you may depend upon the squadron in America being reinforced should the enemy bend their force that way.

Two days later Rodney received word that de Grasse had left Martinique. He then gave Sir Samuel Hood preparatory orders to leave for the north, he himself understanding that de Grasse was to take with him but 14 ships. Thus the orders, dated St. Eustatius, July 25, 1781, directed Hood to proceed with 14 ships of the line and 7 frigates, convoying "the trade" as far as Cape Tiberon (the southwest corner of Haiti), send the convoy to Jamaica and then:

Having seen the said convoy in safety as above, you are to make the best of your way toward the coasts of North America with the remainder of the line-of-battle ships, together with [four frigates named], which you are to

<sup>1</sup> Sparks, Writings of Washington, VIII, 150.

employ in such manner should you be senior officer on that station (or until you come under the command of such), as shall seem to you most conducive to His Majesty's service by supporting His Majesty's liege subjects, and annoying his rebellious ones, and counteracting such schemes as it may be reasonable to conclude are formed for the junction of the French fleet from Cape François with that already there, or with the forces of the rebels in America, having lately sent an express to Admiral Arbuthnot, or the commanding officer on that station, that the ships I might either bring or detach from thence thither would endeavour first to make the capes of the Chesapeake, then those of the Delaware, and so on, to Sandy Hook, unless intelligence received from his cruisers (whom I desired might be looking out off the first capes) or elsewhere should induce a contrary conduct.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear from the foregoing that Rodney did not expect Hood to take even all his 14 ships of the line. Certain reports delayed Hood, and these orders were not executed in detail, the outcome being that while on August 1 Rodney sailed for England on leave of absence, taking with him 4 ships of the line, Hood on August 10 sailed directly from Antigua for the capes of the Chesapeake.

It is the "ifs" which count in war as in everything else, and there was a momentous one in the events of this period in Rodney's seizure of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius as one of the first acts of the newly declared war with Holland. This island had been the great base of supply of the United States whither not only neutral ships carried their cargoes but many English as well who did not disregard such chances to turn a dishonest penny. In conjunction with the army under Gen. Vaughan, Rodney seized the island on February 3, 1781. The booty was immense, being valued at over £3,000,000. It was Rodney's undoing. He became so entangled in the distribution and in the resulting lawsuits, that worry brought on his old enemy, the gout, which made such serious inroads on his health that he decided to go to England to take the waters of Bath, and to look after his interests which had been so severely assailed. St. Eustatius thus became a large psychic element in determining the result of the war. Had Rodney remained—had he himself gone to the American coast, taking his available ships, it is not unfair to suppose another turn of events.

But all the gods of Olympus were, for the moment, with the French and Americans. The *Swallow*, sent by Rodney with the dispatch just given, arrived at New York on July 27, but Graves, with information from the Admiralty of a convoy from France for Boston, had sailed for Boston Bay on July 21. Dispatched thither, the *Swallow* was forced ashore on Long Island and lost. The *Active*, sent by Graves to the West Indies with the information given above, reached Hood on August 3; was dispatched back to New York on the 6th; and was captured on the way. Graves did not return to New York until August 16, when he found a copy which had been made of Rodney's

<sup>1</sup> In full in G. B. Mundy, *Life and Correspondence of the late Admiral Lord Rodney*, II, 145-149.

dispatch, but this only notified him that a force would be sent and of its course, not that it had started. On August 25 Hood was off the entrance to the Chesapeake, and he now wrote to Graves:

Herewith you will receive a duplicate of the letter I had the honor to write you by Lieut. Delanoe, of the *Active* brig, lest any misfortune may have befallen her in returning to you.

I am now steering for Cape Henry, in order to examine the Chesapeake. From thence I shall proceed off the capes of the Delaware and, not seeing or hearing anything of de Grasse or any detachment of ships he might have sent upon this coast, shall then make the best of my way off Sandy Hook, where I shall be permitted to anchor or not, as may appear most advisable to you. Annexed is my line of battle . . .

This, carried by the *Nymphe*, arrived at New York<sup>1</sup> on August 28, and Hood's fleet, which Graves states never sighted the capes of the Chesapeake, anchored off the Hook at 2 a. m. the next day, Wednesday, August 29, 1781.

The inability of Graves and Clinton to grasp the situation is shown in a letter from Graves to Hood written on August 28:

I have this moment received your letter by the *Nymphe* acquainting me of your intention in coming here with the fleet under your command. It was not until yesterday that I had any information of your having sailed, which came privately from Lieut. Delanoe, now prisoner at Philadelphia, taken on his passage to this place; . . . We have as yet no certain intelligence of de Grasse; the accounts say that he was gone to the Havana to join the Spaniards and expected together upon this coast; a little time will show us. I have sent up for pilots to bring your squadron over the bar, which should be buoyed to render it safe. To anchor without would neither be safe at this season of the year nor prudent on account of its being quite exposed to an enemy, as well as the violence of the sea.

De Barras's squadron was still at Rhode Island by our last accounts, ready for sea . . . All the American accounts are big with the expectations and the Army has lately crossed to the southward of the Hudson and appears in motion in the Jerseys as if to threaten Staten Island. For my own part I believe the mountain in labor; only now that you are come.

My squadron is slender and not yet ready to move, or I should not hesitate upon your coming over the bar. As we are circumstanced, it is a clear point. I met the general to-day at Denis's, Long Island.<sup>2</sup>

On the reception of this letter Hood pulled the long distance to Wenis's in the afternoon of the 29th. He there told Graves that it was not right for him to go within the Hook; "for whether you attend the arm to Rhode Island or seek the enemy at sea, you have no time to lose; every moment is precious." Graves promised to be over the bar next day. That evening word was received that Barras had put to sea from Newport with all his ships and transports.<sup>3</sup> In the evening of September 1<sup>st</sup> Graves crossed the bar with only his 5 available ships, and the united armaments at once stood south.

<sup>1</sup> The Barham Papers, I, 121, 122.

<sup>2</sup> Hood to Barham. The Barham Papers, I, 130.

<sup>3</sup> Log of London.



There were in all 19 ships of the line. At 9.30 a. m. of September 5 the fleet now off the Chesapeake Capes sighted the French fleet at anchor just inside Cape Henry. It had taken over  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days to come 240 nautical miles. Signal was now made, says the log of the *London*, "for the line of battle ahead at 2 cables length (1,440 feet). At noon, Cape Henry, W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., 4 or 5 leagues."

De Grasse had sent 4 of his ships of the line into the bay to watch Cornwallis's movements, and he had now but 24. About 9.30 a. m. on this eventful day of September 5 his outermost ships signaled a fleet in the east. At 1.15 the lookouts aloft reported 24 ships, and at 11 the lookout frigate *Aigrette* reported 30, the actual number being 28, made up of 19 ships of the line, a 50-gun ship, 6 frigates, and a fire ship. The French had gone to quarters and the admiral had signaled to get underway, without further signal, at noon, when it was expected that the flood tide which had set at 7 would have slackened. At 12.30 the signal was made to form line of battle promptly without reference to particular stations.

The distance from Cape Charles on the north to Cape Henry is about 10 nautical miles. The channel for heavy ships, however, is confined to a breadth of some 3 miles between Cape Henry and a large shoal known as the Middle Ground. In this channel were anchored the French ships in three columns. The tide, says the captain of the *Citoyen* (a name markedly indicative of the new French sentiment), was still setting strong on Cape Henry, and several of the ships had to tack to clear the cape. The *Citoyen* cleared the cape at 1.45, the *Ville de Paris* a little in advance. The former ship, through absentees on boat duty ashore, the sick, and those who had died, was short some 200 men and 5 officers. There were not men enough to man the upper-deck guns. Much the same may be said of the others of the fleet.

The two forces now to be opposed were British—2 ninety-eights (3 deckers), 12 seventy-fours (2 deckers), 1 seventy, 4 sixty-fours, and 7 frigates. These 19 ships of the line carried nominally 1,410 guns, though probably quite 100 more. The French were 1 one hundred and fours (a 3 decker presented by the city of Paris, and so named, the finest ship of her day), 3 eighties, 17 seventy-fours, and 3 sixty-fours, with nominally 1,794, or probably nearer 2,000 guns. There were also 2 frigates. The odds were thus strongly against the British. But it is clear that under such circumstances as those just mentioned, the French ships must have left the capes in very straggling order, offering conditions which more than nullified the discrepancy of force. It was a great opportunity. Had Graves had initiative and had not been hidebound by the old fighting instructions, which required the formation of line ahead and each ship to

engage her opposite, he would have at once stood down and destroyed the French van before the French line could have been formed.

At 1 p. m. Graves had formed his line on an east and west bearing, heading west, the distance between ships being 1 cable (720 feet). On approaching the Middle Ground he wore together (2.15 p. m.) (thus heading eastward) and lay to in order to let the center of the French "come abreast of us" (the *London*, flagship, being in the center of the British line as was the *Villa de Paris* in that of the French). The van was signaled at 2.30 to keep more to starboard; the signal was repeated at 3.17; and at 3.30 the rear of the fleet was ordered to make more sail. At 3.34 the van was again ordered to keep more to starboard, and at 3.46 signal was made for line ahead, "the enemy's ships advancing very slow." Evening was now approaching and signal was made "to bear down and engage their opponents." The flagship filled the main topsail, bore down, and at 4.03 repeated the signal, and at 4.11 hauled down the signal for line ahead "so as not to interfere with the signal to engage close." Signal for the line ahead was repeated at 4.22. It was hauled down at 4.27 and that for close action again made. This was repeated at 5.20, upon which the rear (Admiral Hood) bore down toward the enemy. The French rear, however, kept at such a distance that the British rear did not get into action at all. At 6.30 all firing ceased and both fleets stood eastward, the lines being about 3 miles apart. The British had had 90 killed and 246 wounded; the French reported a total of about 200 casualties. But the damages to a number of the British ships were such that Graves did not again engage. The *Terrible* (74) was in sinking condition, and five days later had to be burned. Nor did the French show any inclination to renew the battle. For five days the two fleets were more or less in sight, sometimes only from the masthead. On the 10th the French fleet bore, by the *London's* log, east-northeast "5 or 6 miles," though the journal of the French ship of the line *Citoyen* of the same day makes the British not visible, showing thus how widely scattered the ships of each fleet were. Cape Henry was north-northwest, distant "35 leagues."

It was now that the purpose for which they had come, which seems, temporarily at least, to have escaped the minds of both commanders, came again into the consciousness of de Grasse and he stood for the capes, within which he again anchored on the 11th, taking off the capes the British frigates *Iris* (formerly the American *Hancock*) and *Richmond*. De Grasse found Barras anchored in the bay. He had arrived on the evening of the 10th with all his fleet intact. The French had now 36 of the line—an overpowering force as against the British, even should we include a reinforcement of six ships of the line just arrived at New York under Admiral Digby—news which came near sending de Grasse again to sea in search of the

enemy. It required the strongest protestations of Washington to hold him to the real purpose of the campaign.

Thus both the French and British commanders showed how little they comprehended the real strategy of the situation. Graves did his best, but it was a fatally bad best. He should, having a leading wind, have attacked the French as they made their exit, when they were necessarily in disorder and while but a portion were outside.<sup>1</sup> It was an astonishing tribute to conservatism bred through the hard and fast rules of the fighting instructions.

That Graves desired "close action" by the whole line is sufficiently clear, and it is comprehensible that his orders, though marred by the signal "line ahead," were not carried out. Sir Samuel Hood (later Lord Hood) was undoubtedly one of the most capable officers of his time. Though he did not do what was evidently the obvious thing and was thus seriously culpable, he was wise enough after the event, and expressed himself in a private letter to Jackson, an official of the admiralty, in terms which were an epitome on this occasion of good tactics and good sense. The letter was as follows:

COAST OF VIRGINIA, 6th of September, 1781.

Yesterday the British fleet had a rich and most plentiful harvest of glory in view, but the means to gather it were omitted in more instances than one.

I may begin with observing that the enemy's van was not very closely attacked as it came out of Lynn Haven Bay, which, I think, might have been done with clear advantage, as they came out by no means in a regular and connected way. When the enemy's van was out it was greatly extended beyond the center and rear and might have been attacked with the whole force of the British fleet. Had such an attack been made, several of the enemy's ships must have been inevitably demolished in half an hour's action, and there was a full hour and a half to have engaged it before any of the rear could have come up.

Thirdly. When the van of the two fleets got into action, and the ships of the British line were hard pressed, one (the *Shrewsbury*) totally disabled very early from keeping her station by having her fore and main topsail yards shot away, which left her second (the *Intrepid*) exposed to two ships of superior force, which the noble and spirited behavior of Capt. Molloy<sup>2</sup> obliged to turn their sterns to him, that the signal was not thrown out for the van ships to make more sail to have enabled the center to push on to the support of the van, instead of engaging at such an improper distance (the *London* having her main topsail to the mast the whole time she was firing with the signal for the line at half a cable flying), that the second ship astern of the *London* received but trifling damage, and the third astern of her (the *London*) received no damage at all, which most clearly proves how much too great the distance was the center division engaged.

Now, had the center gone to the support of the van, and the signal for the line been hauled down, or the commander in chief had set the example of close action, even with the signal for the line flying, the van of the enemy must have been cut to pieces, and the rear division of the British fleet would have been opposed to those ships the center division fired at, and at the proper distance for engaging,

<sup>1</sup> *London's* log.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Capt. Molloy who afterwards, in a less "happy hour of command," incurred so much discredit on the 1st of June, 1794.

or the rear admiral who commanded it would have a great deal to answer for. Instead of that, our center division did the enemy but little damage, and our rear ships being barely within random shot, three only fired a few shot. So soon as the signal for the line was hauled down at 25 minutes after 5, the rear division bore up, above half a mile to leeward of the center division, but the French ships bearing up also, it did not near them; and at 25 minutes after 6 the signal of the line ahead at half a cable being again hoisted, and the signal for battle hauled down, Rear Admiral Sir S. Hood called to the *Monarch* (his leader) to keep her wind, as he dared not separate his division just at dark, the *London* not bearing up at all.

N. B.—This forenoon Capt. Everett came on board the *Barfleur* with a message from Rear Admiral Graves to Rear Admiral Sir S. Hood desiring his opinion whether the action should be renewed. Sir Samuel's answer was: "I dare say Mr Graves will do what is right. I can send no opinion, but whenever he (Mr. Graves) wishes to see me, I will wait upon him with great pleasure."

Hood then wrote Graves:

BARFLEUR, AT SEA, 10th September, 1781.

SIR: I flatter myself you will forgive the liberty I take in asking whether you have any knowledge where the French fleet is, as we can see nothing of it from the *Barfleur*.

By the press of sail de Grasse carried yesterday (and he must even have done the same the preceding night, by being where [he] was at daylight), I am inclined to think his aim is the Chesapeake, in order to be strengthened by the ships there, either by adding to his present force, or by exchanging his disabled ships for them. Admitting that to be his plan, will he not cut off the frigates you have sent to reconnoiter, as well as the ships you expect from New York? And if he should enter the bay, which is by no means improbable, will he not succeed in giving most effectual succor to the rebels?<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible, however, to avoid the impression that Hood did not do his duty as, had he been in chief command, he would have expected a subordinate to do. Whether there was a temporary pettiness of mind arising from a rather unconcealed contempt of Graves or whatever else the cause, he did not whole-heartedly aid his chief. The journal of the *Barfleur*, his flagship, says at "31 minutes past 3 the Admiral made the Sig<sup>d</sup> to the Fleet to Alter the Course to Starboard." The signal for "close action" was flying, and this was Hood's opportunity. Instead he chose to consider that he was to hold the line, and thus scarcely got into action at all. It was not until 5.20, when the signal for close action was repeated (that for the line having been hauled down at 4.27), that Hood stood down, but the ships of the French rear bearing up also, he did not get near enough to accomplish anything. Certainly his conduct aided largely to the losing of the day for the British.

His last sentence is curiously suggestive of the general "woolli-ness" of idea as to the duty of the British fleet. Its true strategy was to take advantage of the leading wind with which it approached the Chesapeake, and upon the straggling exit of the French fleet to

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<sup>1</sup> Letters written by Sir Samuel Hood, Navy Records Society, vol. III, 31-33.

have stood into the Capes. With but the van of the French fleet outside, with the others in the disorder of exit against a flood tide, there was the assurance of victory for the British, of the occupancy of the bay, and the relief of Cornwallis. Everything favored such a course of action. Failing this, it should, from the British point of view, have been Graves who should, after the action, have gone into the Chesapeake and left de Grasse aimlessly sailing about. Whether the latter would have had the boldness to have then attacked New York, which was wholly undefended, is a question.

On the day of the action, September 5, Washington was standing on the river bank at Chester.<sup>1</sup> "He waved his hat in the air as the Comte de Rochambeau approached, and with many demonstrations of uncontrollable happiness he announced to him the good news" of de Grasse's arrival. Had he known that de Grasse was leaving the capes at that moment to fight a battle he would have been less joyous. But the fates were with the allies. It was an incapable British admiral that saved the situation and brought De Grasse back to a position he should never have left. As it was, by September 28 the combined armies were in front of Yorktown, partly transported from the headwaters of the Chesapeake by French frigates sent to Annapolis, partly by the ordinary land route; and the loss of Cornwallis with his 7,000 men, and the complete restoration of continental authority in the South had become a certainty. The surrender took place on October 19. On the same day Graves, who had after the action, returned to New York, again crossed Sandy Hook bar, now with 23 ships, convoying Clinton with 7,000 troops bound for the Chesapeake. They arrived off the Capes on October 24. They there received word of Cornwallis's surrender. In any case the expedition was futile. The French were in 50 per cent greater force, and an attack could only end in disaster. The fleet and troops could only again return to New York.

The fact that Washington marched south with but 2,000 Continentals and 4,000 French alone shows the supreme importance of the French fleet. Without it there had been no American independence. There could have been no more complete indication of Washington's dictum, that "In any operation, and under all circumstances, a decisive naval superiority is to be considered a fundamental principle and the basis upon which every hope of success must depend."

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<sup>1</sup> Tower, II, 441.



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IX. REPORT ON PUBLICATION OF REVOLUTIONARY  
MILITARY RECORDS.

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By H. C. CLARK.

*Captain, U. S. A.*

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## REPORT ON PUBLICATION OF REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY RECORDS.

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By H. C. CLARK.

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This paper is a brief account of the results of the act of Congress approved March 2, 1913, entitled "An act to authorize the collection of the military and naval records of the Revolutionary War with a view to their publication." The act is to be found in the Statutes at Large, volume 37, page 723, and reads as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That, within the limits of the appropriation herein made, the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to collect or copy and classify, with a view to publication, the scattered military records of the Revolutionary War, including all troops acting under State authority, and the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized and directed to collect or copy and classify, with a view to publication, the scattered naval records of the Revolutionary War.

SEC. 2. That all such records in the possession or custody of any official of the United States shall be transferred, the military records to the War Department and the naval records to the Navy Department.

SEC. 3. That there is hereby appropriated for the purposes of this act, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, twenty-five thousand dollars for the War Department and seven thousand dollars for the Navy Department: *Provided*, That the aforesaid sums of money shall be expended, respectively, under the direction of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, and that they shall make to Congress each year detailed statements showing how the money herein appropriated has been expended and to whom: *Provided further*, That no part of the sum hereby appropriated shall be used in the purchase of any such records that may be discovered either in the hands of private owners or in public depositories.

The execution of this law is subject to all general laws and Treasury Department regulations affecting the disbursement of public funds, to the Civil Service Commission as to employees, to the general supply committee as to supplies, and to a large number of specific opinions requested from and rendered by the Comptroller of the Treasury.

The administration of the act was assigned by the Secretary of War to The Adjutant General's Office and by the Secretary of the Navy to the Library and Naval War Records Office. The two departments cooperated, it being obviously in the interest of economy

and efficiency to conduct the search for military and naval records simultaneously.

For some months directly following the passage of the act The Adjutant General made efforts by correspondence to obtain information as to records in the 13 original States and Vermont. It soon became evident, by reason of the mass of material involved and its scattered condition, that further prosecution of the work would require the detail of an officer for the purpose. The office of Director of Publication of Revolutionary Military Records was created; an officer was appointed thereto and he entered upon this duty October 27, 1913. Authority was obtained from the Civil Service Commission for the temporary employment of such historians, librarians, archivists, or antiquarians, as might be needed at the depositories of records. The active cooperation of the American Historical Association was assured; several conferences of historians and officials were held, and a committee of historians drew up the general instructions issued to searchers. Searchers were indorsed by the association before being appointed.

The term "Revolutionary Records" invariably brings to mind "Rebellion Records," the term ordinarily employed in referring to the Government publication entitled "The War of the Rebellion, a compilation of the official records of the Union and Confederate Armies." This work is of such importance as a precedent that a word relating to it will not be out of place here. It was projected as early as 1864, and under the first plan of compilation was published in a desultory manner until it reached its seventy-ninth volume and the year 1889. Some 10 years before this date such radical defects in the plan of compilation revealed themselves that a more carefully designed scheme was adopted, the work was begun anew, and the first volume under the revised plan was published in 1881. Why the first edition, thus condemned to abandonment for its imperfections, was not forsaken at this time instead of being permitted to continue its superfluous career for eight years longer, is one of those inscrutable mysteries of departmental life which baffle alike the speculations of the philosopher, the investigations of the historian, and the imprecations of the soldier. It is the second edition of the Rebellion Records, begun in 1881, which is the familiar 30-foot shelf of books found in most of our libraries. This was completed in 1901. It comprises 128 volumes and an atlas, and cost \$2,858,514.67, not including the salaries of various officers detailed on it.

A more recent Government publication closely allied to the foregoing is the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion," of which the first volume was pub-

lished in 1894. It has now reached the twenty-seventh volume and is still in course of publication. It is estimated that it will be completed in 29 volumes and that the cost will amount to about \$1,000,000.

This makes a total for both military and naval records of the war of secession of 157 volumes and atlas, at a cost of about \$4,000,000.

In view of these figures it is not surprising that Congress hesitated to authorize a similar undertaking, even for a lesser war or a war the records of which might be supposed to exist in much smaller bulk than those of the war of secession. It was only after great effort on the part of the Society of the Cincinnati that the passage of the bill of March 2, 1913, was obtained, and then the appropriation asked for (\$65,000) was cut down to \$32,000.

At a hearing before the House Committee on Appropriations, January 4, 1915, on a bill for further appropriation for this purpose, the chairman said that it was the understanding of the House Military Affairs Committee when it reported the 1913 bill that the work would be completed for \$32,000.

However excessive the \$4,000,000 expended upon the Rebellion Records might be regarded, it soon becomes clear to anyone investigating Revolutionary sources that \$32,000 for compiling the military and naval records of that war is at the other extreme. The contrast is striking, the amount appropriated for the Revolutionary records being less than 1 per cent of that for the Rebellion Records. All efforts to obtain additional money have failed.

The editors of the Rebellion Records complained of a "great deficiency of Confederate records." By reason of the lapse of time since the Revolution, the lack of interest in preserving papers, and their frequent destruction by fire, it would seem that there would be a great deficiency of Revolutionary records, and doubtless there is, but the quantity still in existence is surprisingly large. Besides those in this country, there are those in England, our opponent; in France, our ally; in Germany, where our opponent obtained mercenaries; and in Canada.

In deciding where to begin collecting, foreign countries were at once eliminated from consideration, both because of the insufficient funds and because, fortunately, the listing of the manuscript materials relating to American history in foreign archives is being done by the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution, so that the student will at least have admirable guides to the stores of foreign material.

The records of the Revolution situated in our own country, unlike those of the War of Secession, are not mostly at the seat of Government. Some very important collections are in the War Depart-

ment and the Library of Congress, but the majority are scattered not only in the 13 original States but in many other States; they are not only in public archives but in the collections of institutions of learning, societies, and individuals. They are treasures which in most cases could not be purchased, and the act wisely put purchases out of the question by prohibiting the use of the funds for that purpose. It is not to be expected that the owners will present their manuscripts to the Government, so that the collecting of records is of necessity a collecting of copies of originals.

The story of the long-continued efforts to make possible the publication by the Government of these records has been narrated in various reports from The Adjutant General's Office. There have been indications of growing public interest in the matter, an interest due chiefly to two influences, that of the increasing number of historical students and their desire for authentic sources free from embellishment and distortion, and that of the hereditary patriotic societies whose membership is founded upon military service in the War for Independence.

Some 20 years ago the War Department transcribed the principal Revolutionary records of Delaware, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Vermont. The director under the act of 1913 therefore gave his attention first to the other Atlantic States and began with Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina. It soon developed that the amount of material in those three States was of such volume that it was not wise to extend operations beyond their limits. The copying was done by photography. There being no precedents for similar work under like conditions the director was obliged to experiment with a view to the most economical and satisfactory results. In Massachusetts a photographic apparatus was purchased and installed, with the governor's permission, in the statehouse. In Virginia a photographer, employed on salary, furnished the apparatus, the supplies being furnished by the Government. In North Carolina services, apparatus, and supplies were furnished by contract. Where many copies had to be made at one place and electric current was obtainable the photostat machine was used; where frequent changes of location had to be made a portable camera using glass plates was found most convenient. Negative prints were found so trying to the eye that they were discontinued in favor of positives. All prints are to the scale of the originals.

In all cases the State officials were most courteous and helpful to the director, the searchers, and the photographers.

In Massachusetts a historian was employed from January 26, 1914, to May 21, 1915. For some time our machine was operated by a photographer on salary; 6,632 prints were made. Thereafter 13,164

prints were furnished under contract, making a total of 19,796 prints from the State of Massachusetts, classified as follows:

State archives, Boston:

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| Massachusetts board of war minutes.....             | 897    |
| Massachusetts board of war minutes letter book..... | 524    |
| Massachusetts board of war orders.....              | 1, 025 |
| Massachusetts board of war letters received.....    | 1, 434 |
| Maritime miscellany.....                            | 824    |
| Revolutionary letters.....                          | 6, 331 |
| Penobscot Expedition papers.....                    | 626    |
| Military manuscripts.....                           | 761    |
| Royalist manuscripts.....                           | 1, 327 |
| Maritime manuscripts.....                           | 933    |
| Naval papers.....                                   | 4, 862 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Hamilton's Journal of the Vincennes Expedition..... | 77 |
|--|----|

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Miss Anna Barnes, Houlton, Me., Jonathan Frye Orderly Book..... | 175 |
|---|-----|

Total ..... 19, 796

In Virginia a historian was employed from January 27, 1914, to March 15, 1915; another historian from February 7, 1914, to December 31, 1914; and a photographer from March 3, 1914, to May 31, 1915. In this State a publicity campaign was carried on for months. A poster was put up in every post office by authority of the Postmaster General; its contents were published in every newspaper and periodical; and over 7,000 copies were mailed to librarians, educators, public officials, and members of patriotic, literary, and historical societies. A historian and photographer made a tour of county seats and other places where documents were known to be or where it was hoped to find them; 6,122 prints were made, classified as follows:

State Library, Richmond:

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Virginia war letters from governor, commissioner, etc..... | 1, 682 |
| Lists of officers, etc.....                                | 69     |
| Westham foundry ["foundry" in original MS.] accounts.....  | 25     |
| Northwestern territory expenses.....                       | 88     |
| Journal northwestern commissioners.....                    | 182    |
| Journal western commissioners.....                         | 244    |
| Illinois claims.....                                       | 130    |
| Returns of militia.....                                    | 75     |
| Receipts for money and stores.....                         | 559    |
| Cashbook.....  | 29     |
| Army ledger.....   | 55     |
| Letters, etc.....  | 77     |
| Lossing collection.....                                    | 129    |
| Journal of general assembly.....                           | 244    |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| President Lyon G. Tyler, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, collection..... | 4 |
|---|---|

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Mr. George P. Coleman, Williamsburg, collection..... | 173 |
|--|-----|

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Mr. Newton Argenbright, Staunton, collection..... | 123 |
|---|-----|

## Court records (county) :

|                     |        |
|---------------------|--------|
| Orange.....         | 253    |
| Culpeper.....       | 17     |
| Fauquier.....       | 100    |
| Loudoun.....        | 56     |
| Frederick.....      | 239    |
| Shenandoah.....     | 94     |
| Rockingham.....     | 153    |
| Augusta.....        | 205    |
| Rockbridge.....     | 70     |
| Amherst.....        | 37     |
| Fluvanna.....       | 77     |
| Goochland.....      | 65     |
| Hanover.....        | 1      |
| Louisa.....         | 172    |
| Albermarle.....     | 55     |
| York.....           | 31     |
| Northampton.....    | 48     |
| Accomac.....        | 47     |
| Middlesex.....      | 42     |
| Lancaster.....      | 50     |
| Northumberland..... | 96     |
| Richmond.....       | 60     |
| Essex.....          | 54     |
| Westmoreland.....   | 24     |
| Spotsylvania.....   | 85     |
| Caroline.....       | 103    |
| Total.....          | 6, 122 |

In North Carolina a historian was employed from January 27, 1914, to February 28, 1915; 4,073 prints were made, classified as follows:

## State archives, Raleigh:

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| Letters and miscellaneous documents.....                | 2, 929 |
| Collection of Mr. Charles E. Johnson, Raleigh.....      | 36     |
| Collection of Mr. E. Vernon Howell, Chapel Hill.....    | 3      |
| Journal Provincial Congress.....                        | 73     |
| Journal Provincial Congress, Halifax.....               | 176    |
| Jacob Turner's Book.....                                | 125    |
| Militia and volunteer act.....                          | 14     |
| Petitions, etc.....                                     | 50     |
| Talk with the Cherokee Indians.....                     | 36     |
| State University Library, Chapel Hill—Letters, etc..... | 387    |
| Dr. Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill.....               | 23     |
| Miss Lida Tunstall Rodman, Washington, collection.....  | 51     |
| Mr. John G. Wood, Edenton, collection.....              | 170    |
| Total.....  | 4, 073 |

One of the many practical lessons taught by this experience is that a searcher must be all that the title implies. Very little is accomplished by advertising, posting notices, or correspondence. The searcher must find out who are the owners and custodians of ma-

terials and where they live, and then he must get into personal contact with them and enter upon a tactful and unhurried negotiation for the privilege of making the desired photographs. In all cases it has been found, when the purpose of the undertaking is made clear, that permission is gladly granted and that conveniences are generously furnished by the custodian.

The total number of prints collected is 30,522, of which 19,333 had been labeled at the time of the cessation of the work last summer. It is a matter of regret that the undertaking could not be continued to a satisfactory conclusion. Its resumption and completion depend upon getting more money.

By this is not meant, necessarily or preferably, the continuation of the methods imposed by the act of 1913. The best plan is the assignment of the entire subject of the compilation, arrangement, and publication of the military and naval records of all our wars to the General Staffs of the Army and Navy. Before this can be done it will be essential to create a Navy General Staff, since none now exists, and to enlarge the Army General Staff, in both cases assuming that their administrative superiors will admit the necessity for a general staff and will permit it to exercise its functions. These violent hypotheses being postulated, there should be a section of each general staff devoted to history and provided with the best civilian assistance, so that, in the halcyon era of mobilization of all our national resources, upon which we are now entering, the technical attainments of civilian and of officer may supplement each other in this field of endeavor as well as in ordnance, sanitation, engineering, and law.

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X. SOME NEW MARSHALL SOURCES.

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By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

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## SOME NEW MARSHALL SOURCES.

By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

Although all concede that John Marshall is the greatest judicial mind that America has produced, if, indeed, not the foremost of the modern world; although he was one of the very first of the constructive forces in the making of the Nation; and although his influence not only persists to the present time, but is increasing—yet in spite of all this, less is known of his personality than of that of any other man of the first class in our history.

Even the American bar is strangely uninformed as to Marshall's career. The general conception which even learned American lawyers have of this extraordinary personage is that he was a sort of legal Buddha, sitting among the clouds and giving forth by some strange process those opinions which have made his name immortal.

Yet the lives of few Americans were so dramatic, human, and full of color as was the life of Marshall. Nor can his great opinions be fully understood without a knowledge of the man and of his work before he became Chief Justice of the United States.

Much of this may be gathered by a careful study of the general history of his times, but most is revealed by sources hitherto unpublished and unknown. I can, of course, deal but briefly with such sources.

One of the earliest of these is the account given of Marshall when he was drilling his backwood's companions in the manual of arms and thus making ready for active service in the Revolutionary War. This narrative follows Marshall on the march of the Virginia Shirt Men under the flag of the coiled rattlesnake to the Battle of Great Bridge in 1775, and ends with a description of the prankish, playful, joke-loving, but utterly fearless young soldier at Valley Forge.

Another source is a book in which Marshall kept the notes of Wythe's law lectures. While the youthful veteran was home on furlough, he sought legal instruction for only a few weeks at William and Mary College. From this book we know exactly to what lectures Marshall listened and precisely the extent of his legal instruction before he was admitted to the bar. From its pages we know also that he was a good deal more in love with Mary Ambler than he was interested in studying law; for he writes her name all over the book.

This source is far more valuable because it contains his accounts of earnings and expenses for 12 years after his marriage, which occurred a little more than two years after his hasty sojourn at college—as soon, indeed, as Miss Ambler had reached her seventeenth year. These accounts show Marshall's peculiarly social character, generous care of his family, the increase of his practice, and the growth of his prosperity. The entries reveal, too, the conditions of life in Richmond during the period 1783–1795. And they exhibit in the careless entries where dates sometimes are given, but more often omitted, and where in some years the balance between income and outlay is cast up and in other years neglected altogether, Marshall's characteristic dislike of detail.

This rare source is a thick blank book heavily bound in leather. Marshall procured it in 1780, probably at Williamsburg. It was found six years ago in a smokehouse at Leeds Manor, Va., the residence of his brother James.

Other sources of similar character and value are Marshall's letters written at this period, of which only a very few are in existence. Two of these will serve as illustrations.

A year after Marshall's marriage, during the winter of 1784–85, he wrote a letter to Monroe, who had been his comrade in the Revolutionary War. He was 29 years of age and the letter reflects the buoyant spirit of his years and indicates his genial habits. He tells Monroe that there is an epidemic of marriages in Richmond occasioned by the very cold weather, and relates all the matrimonial gossip, giving names and descriptions in a manner strikingly like that of Jefferson. But this good humor, freedom, and total lack of reserve disappears from Marshall's letters at an early period; while the youthful freedom and imprudence which makes the letters of Jefferson so charming continued throughout his life. Very early in his career the letters of Marshall, except those written to his brother and his wife, become formal and reserved.

Another of Marshall's letters at this time of his life upsets a cherished tradition that Marshall resigned from the Council of State in Virginia in 1784 in order to give all his time to the practice of the law, and that, unsolicited and undesired by Marshall, the people of his old home county elected him to the legislature from their wish, as Binney says, to connect the name of their county with young Marshall's growing fame. This intimate letter destroys this legend.

Until the present day the source from which Marshall and his brother derived the money to buy the Fairfax estate has been unknown. The letters of Robert Morris show what any student might well have deduced from the fact that Marshall's brother James married Robert Morris's daughter Hester, that the money came from the Philadelphia financier. This source, hitherto unpublished, is very important.

Even more illuminating as to the character of the man and his private life than are his early letters and his account book are Marshall's letters to his wife. Marshall's devotion to his wife, who became an invalid within a few months after their marriage, is a living tradition in Virginia. It was tender and exalted, and the accounts of it remind one of the exaggerated stories of the age of chivalry. It not only lasted but increased throughout the half century of their married life. Marshall's letters to his wife more than justify the Virginia tradition. These letters, although the first of them is written 14 years after his marriage and the remainder from that time on until within a few years of Mrs. Marshall's death, show the tenderness and affection of a youthful and ardent love.

Aside from the light which these domestic letters throw on Marshall's character, they are of historic value because of their familiar comment on events and men of the time when they were written.

The above, of course, is only a rough outline of the many sources which, taken all together, contribute to a better understanding of the life of Marshall. But even if all these be fully taken into account, the man's work and its meaning can not be measured unless we witness the large drama in which he was an actor, proceeding from a minor part as the play goes on to the leading character when the curtain falls.



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XI. RUDOLF SCHLEIDEN AND THE VISIT TO RICHMOND,  
APRIL 25, 1861.

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By RALPH HASWELL LUTZ,  
*Assistant Professor in the University of Washington.*

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## RUDOLF SCHLEIDEN AND THE VISIT TO RICHMOND, APRIL 25, 1861.<sup>1</sup>

By RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

While working in Germany on the subject of "The relations between Germany and the United States during the Civil War," I secured permission from the Senate of Bremen to study in the State Archives. In these archives are preserved the dispatches of the minister resident, Dr. Schleiden, from 1861 to 1864, and the dispatches of the Hanseatic Legation from 1864 to 1865. Dr. von Bippen, the State archivist of Bremen, gave access to all the diplomatic correspondence of Schleiden while Minister at Washington, except three confidential dispatches of 1861—Schleiden's No. 50, No. 51, and No. 52 of April 24 and May 2 to the committee of foreign affairs of Bremen—which dealt with Schleiden's peace negotiations at Richmond.

These dispatches are now in my possession. Mr. Frederic Bancroft, when editing the now published correspondence of Carl Schurz, found among the Schurz papers copies of these confidential documents. Mr. E. D. Adams had translations made of these three dispatches, as well as of the other Schleiden manuscripts in the Schurz papers, and to these I have had access. This paper is a study of these documents and the diplomatic correspondence examined at Bremen.

Rudolf Mathias Schleiden was born on the family estate at Ascheberg, in Schleswig, July 22, 1815. After taking his doctor's degree at the University of Berlin, he entered the Danish customs service, in which he remained until the rebellion of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark in 1848. Leaving Copenhagen he hastened to Kiel and received from the provisional government of the duchies an appointment as delegate to the parliament of Frankfort, which was then assembling to formulate a constitution for Germany. At the capital of the German confederation he became acquainted with Dr. Johann Smidt, Bremen's greatest statesman and one of the founders of Germany's commercial greatness. After the failure of the German liberal movement of 1848, Schleiden withdrew to Bremen, and in 1853 was appointed minister of that Republic to the United States.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the meeting of the Pacific coast branch, Nov. 27, 1915.



No foreign diplomat watched the approaching Civil War with such concern and knowledge of events as Schleiden. "Since the times of the Revolutionary War," he wrote his Government on New Year's day, "no year has begun under such threatening conditions for the United States as the year 1861." Almost all the democratic leaders whom Schleiden met in the diplomatic society of the Capital were open advocates of secession. Even Seward's speech in the Senate on January 14 failed to allay the growing sentiment, Schleiden reported to his Government. After the close of that memorable address, which many hoped would suggest a panacea for the national ills, Hemphill of Texas exclaimed to Schleiden: "That would have been a fine address for the Fourth of July, but we are going to secede."

But while all the southern statesmen were preparing for secession, Seward calmly assured the minister of Bremen that secession was a party game, and, with the commencement of the new administration, order would return. Then, on the 26th of January, the future Secretary of State unfolded to Schleiden that fantastic plan of provoking a foreign war, which Lincoln a few months later so wisely ignored. "If the Lord would only give the United States an excuse for a war with England, France, or Spain," Seward said, "that would be the best means of reestablishing internal peace." Again on February 10, Seward conversed with Schleiden on this subject and complained that momentarily there was no foreign complication which offered an excuse to break with a foreign power.

Although Schleiden believed this plan too intricate to be dangerous, he nevertheless was extremely anxious to ascertain Lincoln's views on foreign policy. On February 26 he reported to his Government that, "like a thief in the night, the future President arrived here on the early morning of the 23d." Several days later Schleiden was introduced to Lincoln, and two days before the inauguration he gave a dinner in honor of Lincoln. Gen. Scott, four of the future cabinet officers, and several diplomats were present. The general, who sat next to the President, remarked, during the course of the dinner, that he had not voted for Lincoln, as he had not exercised his right to vote for 54 years. "But I have voted for you, general," was Lincoln's quick reply, "and you will have to make up for it in war." Still he remarked to the other members of the dinner party that he didn't hope to give the general a chance very soon.

As became a good diplomat of the old school, Schleiden discussed diplomacy with the President-elect after dinner. About the only thing he learned to inform his Government was, however, the terse statement: "I don't know anything about diplomacy. I will be very apt to make blunders." To illustrate the President's humor even in the face of the disruption of the Union, Schleiden related to his

Government that when the peace commissioners of Virginia to the conference at Washington asked Lincoln to remove the Federal troops from Fort Sumter, the President replied: "Why not? If you will guarantee to me the State of Virginia I shall remove the troops. A State for a fort is no bad business."

The fall of Fort Sumter and the threatening prospect of a general war had cast a gloom over Washington, and none felt it more keenly than Schleiden. The chief interest of Bremen in America lay in the carrying trade with Europe. The red and white banner of the little Hanseatic Republic floated from the masts of more ships in American ports than the flag of any other foreign nation excepting Great Britain. To avert civil war and the consequent disruption of trade seemed to Schleiden a foremost duty. He became, therefore, an earnest advocate of mediation, but toward the end of April, 1861, the planned mediation of the diplomatic corps failed. In fact, on April 23 Seward published a communication from the State Department to the governor of Maryland, which declared that the differences between the States could not be submitted to any foreign arbitrament under any circumstances.

Schleiden thereupon offered his services to Seward in the hope that he alone might be able to mediate an armistice which would maintain a peaceful status until Congress could assemble. On the morning of April 24 Schleiden discussed the question with Seward. As Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, was then in Richmond, Schleiden proposed to journey to the capital of Virginia and commence confidential discussions with him. Seward at once favored this plan, but stated that "neither the President nor the entire Cabinet could expressly authorize such pourparlers or draw up conditions under which it would be willing to entertain an armistice."

Later in the day Schleiden had a conference with President Lincoln and Secretary Seward. Lincoln expressed his hearty thanks that Schleiden was "willing to make an attempt of contributing to the prevention of bloodshed, and regretted that Schleiden had not gone to Richmond without consulting him or Seward." However, when Schleiden explained that such a course would have laid him open to the suspicion of intriguing with the South against the sole legitimately recognized Government, Lincoln agreed with him. The President stated that his designs for peace as expressed in his official statements had given ground through misinterpretation to the charge of imbecility and fear, and that he had resolved not to discuss the subject further. He repeated that "he did not have in mind any aggression against the Southern States, but merely the safety of the Government in the capital and the possibility to govern everywhere."

On this account Lincoln said that he could neither authorize negotiations nor invite proposals, but he promised to consider carefully all proposals which Schleiden might find himself called upon to submit.

The manner in which the President expressed himself seemed to indicate to Schleiden that he desired him to attempt negotiations with Stephens without any special authorization. "I therefore tried," Schleiden wrote to his Government, "to cause the gentlemen to state whether the suspension of all hostilities for the term of three months would be accepted under a simultaneous revocation of the two opposing proclamations, the one referring to the issue of letters of marque and reprisal, the other to the blockade of the southern ports." Lincoln declined nevertheless to make any definite statement. Seward, who was determined to send Schleiden, prevailed upon him to commence negotiations without any definite proposals, and procured for him a pass through the Union lines. On the evening of April 24 Schleiden departed secretly for Richmond and arrived on the afternoon of the next day.

On the railway journey through northern Virginia Schleiden discovered that conditions were decidedly unfavorable to his plan for an armistice. Volunteers crowded the stations. The newspapers demanded in stirring articles an immediate attack on Washington and denounced any attempt by the South to secure a truce. In Richmond the ordinance of secession had just been published, and on the day of Schleiden's arrival the State convention ratified the provisional constitution of the Southern Confederacy. The lobby of the hotel at which he stayed was filled with excited politicians anxious to ascertain the aim of his trip.

Immediately on arriving in Richmond, Schleiden wrote to Vice President Stephens asking for an interview, to which the latter replied that he would be happy to see him immediately. During the course of a confidential talk which lasted for three hours Stephens declared that he believed all attempts to settle peacefully the differences between the two sections were futile. "The actions of Seward and Lincoln had filled the South with suspicion," Stephens said, "but neither the Government at Montgomery nor the authorities of Virginia contemplated an attack on Washington." He added that if Walker, the southern secretary of war, had said after the fall of Fort Sumter that he hoped to be in Washington on May 1, it was merely a flowery phrase. "Public opinion was embittered against the United States because of the strengthening of Fort Pickens and Fort Monroe, and the destruction of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the navy yard at Norfolk. Maryland's unexpected rising in favor of the South seemed to make it a condition of peace that Maryland be allowed to join the Southern Confederacy."

In view of these facts Stephens favored a "de facto truce through tactful avoidance of an attack on both sides," rather than a formal armistice. As he had no authorization to make a binding declaration in the name of the Confederacy, he asked for time to consider Schleiden's proposals, and "declared himself ready at the same time to accept a letter from Schleiden on the subject of the armistice and to answer the same."

In a formal letter, written after the conference, Schleiden asked for a frank statement of the terms which the South would be ready to grant and accept for the purpose of securing the maintenance of peace and gaining time for reflection. "I believe that your complying with my above request," wrote Schleiden, "offers the last prospect of attaining a peaceful solution of the present crisis."

To this letter Stephens replied, stating that the Government of the Confederacy had resorted to every honorable means to avoid war, and that if the United States had any desire to adjust amicably the questions at issue it should indicate its willingness in some authoritative way to the South. However, he added, referring to the United States, "it seems to be their policy to wage a war for the recapture of former possessions looking to the ultimate coercion and subjugation of the people of the Confederate States to their power and domain. With such an object on their part persevered in, no power on earth can arrest or prevent a most bloody conflict."

After a last conference with Stephens, Schleiden returned to Washington, reaching the Capital on the afternoon of the 27th. Immediately upon his arrival he addressed a letter to President Lincoln, inclosing his correspondence with Stephens. After stating that the Southern States were arming in self-defense, he reported that if the South were assured the President would recommend to Congress when it assembles on July 4 a speedy and amicable adjustment of the differences and the propriety of treating with commissioners of the Southern States, there would not be any danger of a conflict.

At the request of the President, Seward replied to this letter in an unofficial and confidential communication from the Department of State. Seward informed Schleiden that Lincoln was of the opinion that a continuance of the negotiations would be without any beneficial result. In view of this fact, Schleiden wrote to Stephens:

It is only now and with deep regret that I can inform you that my attempt at contributing toward gaining time for reflection and if possible a favorable adjustment of the existing differences has failed.

Finally, on May 2, 1861, Schleiden wrote to his Government:

I regret to report to the honorable Senate committee that my attempts to mediate a truce and thereby to furnish the opposing parties time for quiet reflection has not been successful.

Such a step as Schleiden took in these negotiations is almost an unheard of thing in the annals of modern diplomacy. His visit to Richmond is undoubtedly the last effort to bring about a compromise between North and South. Of primary importance is the fact that Schleiden was practically sent to Richmond by Seward. Is not this incident unknown to history?

After the failure of his visit to Richmond, Schleiden was soon busied with the various diplomatic questions arising out of the beginning of the Civil War. When the principal powers of Europe issued declarations of neutrality in the War between the States, Schleiden asked his Government for instructions. Nothing exhibits the friendliness of Bremen for the Union more than the simple reply of the senate that there was no necessity for issuing any sort of declaration. In fact, Southern newspapers were continually announcing in large headlines, "Free cities of Germany aid the Lincoln despotism."

The news of the capture of Mason and Slidell fell like a thunderbolt on the diplomats at Washington. War appeared inevitable. "However one may consider this affair from a judicial standpoint, it is a great misfortune," Schleiden wrote home. On December 14 he had an interview with Seward, who assured him that the affair would be settled peacefully with England. At the same time Seward denied most emphatically that Wilkes had acted under instructions from Secretary Welles of the Navy, and added: "I don't care a bit what Mr. Welles said."

Despite the peaceful assurances of Seward, Schleiden was extremely pessimistic, believing that the differences in the cabinet precluded any statesmanlike adjustment of the difficulty. Just a few days before his interview with the Secretary of State, Blair said to him:

Mr. Seward is a transcendental philosopher, with no faith in his own philosophy, and a tricky politician who believes only in the meanest arts.

With such differences in the cabinet, Schleiden informed the senate of Bremen that the only hope in peace lay in the judgment of Lincoln. "The President," he also wrote that body, "has stated that no instructions were sent to Wilkes, and he is incapable of an intentional untruth." Several days after the arrival of the instructions of the British cabinet for Lord Lyons, Schleiden had a long talk with him and gathered that the affair would be peacefully settled. When the commissioners were finally released he wrote to Bremen:

The moral courage with which the Government, and especially Mr. Seward, have withstood public opinion deserves, at least, recognition.

Later in the war, when Lincoln placed Admiral Wilkes in command of the squadron at San Francisco he spoke of it to Schleiden as a pacific measure.

The dramatic arrival of the French dispatch advising the release of Mason and Slidell at the very moment when the cabinet was discussing the subject is a matter of history. The Austrian and Prussian notes, which were of the same tenor, arrived too late to have any influence on the decision. Seward nevertheless accepted them as a token of national good will and had the texts published, although Schleiden informed his Government that Seward privately condemned the action of the two powers, saying that all good advice was annoying after one had made up one's mind. In the spring of 1862 Schleiden asked his Government for a leave of absence in order to return to Europe. Seward had especially advised him to embrace the moment to visit Germany, although the Secretary of War said, "You had better wait 60 days, in order to see the complete end of the rebellion." Schleiden regarded the outlook as extremely unfavorable. Simon Cameron, with whom Schleiden had an interview before sailing, shared this view, and added, by way of explanation: "We want a great man and have not got him, but I ought not to have said that."

Schleiden did not return from Europe until December, 1862. While in Paris he was received on December 18 by the French minister of foreign affairs, Drouyn de Lhuys, who discussed American affairs with him at great length. "I am concerned with neither Union nor disunion, neither with slavery nor with abolition," he said. While at Bremen Schleiden had been appointed minister at Washington for the two other Hanseatic cities of Hamburg and Lübeck, and on his return to his post he presented his new credentials. Owing to the cabinet crisis the President did not formally receive him until December 23.

The emancipation policy and affairs in Mexico were now engaging the attention of the diplomatic corps. Schleiden was opposed to the freeing of the slaves at that juncture and often cited the query of Machiavelli as to whether it was harder to make freemen slaves or slaves free. He was extremely pessimistic, too, regarding the condition of affairs in Mexico and considered a war with France as being far from an impossibility. In private conversation with Schleiden, Seward expressed himself very strongly against the French, whose expulsion from Mexico he regarded as merely a matter of time. The French minister at Washington repeatedly said to Schleiden in speaking of Mexico, "It is my nightmare."

Many of Schleiden's dispatches related purely to military affairs and often contained biting sarcasm. In the summer of 1863 he wrote to Bremen that Lincoln remarked after the Battle of Chancellorsville: "We would have won, had Hooker fallen on the morning of May 2." After Gettysburg Schleiden informed his Govern-

ment that Lincoln was disgusted with Meade's ability as a strategist because he had not taken up a position between Lee and the Potomac to fight a decisive battle.

The reelection of Lincoln was almost unanimously predicted by the diplomatic corps in January, 1864. In February Schleiden mentioned in a dispatch that Lincoln said to Judge Thomas, of Massachusetts, that he would be satisfied if his successor was elected from the Republican Party. If that did not take place the President feared that he would spend the rest of his life in jail for repeated violations of the Constitution. About this time Chase remarked to Schleiden that the war would never end so long as Lincoln was President. In the spring of 1864 Schleiden left Washington for Europe to return only after the Civil War had become a matter of history.

Schleiden was one of the most popular members of the diplomatic corps at Washington during the period of the Civil War. His voluminous dispatches to the senate of Bremen contain excellent contemporary views and accurate accounts of the great men and events of the struggle. The vividness of his comments, his accuracy, and above all his profound knowledge of American affairs, make his diplomatic correspondence valuable source material for the history of the war. In conclusion I wish to express the hope that some day these dispatches of Schleiden may be published.

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## XII. NATIONALISM.

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By EDWARD KREHBIEL,  
*Professor in Leland Stanford University.*

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## NATIONALISM.<sup>1</sup>

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By EDWARD KREHBIEL.

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A nation does not represent a natural geographic unit; it is not a racial, religious, linguistic, economic, social, or cultural unit; and it is not a single-minded personality; in short, there are no clear external features beyond the governmental which decide what a nation is. The nation is a concept and quite justly the London *Nation* says: "A nation exists, where its component atoms believe it to be a nation." Thus the nation is something spiritual rather than external. It is a faith, a belief which, however, finds external expression in a government which need not be different in character from that of a competing nation. In other words, the difference between nations is not necessarily one of unlike political institutions; the difference lies in the fact that two political groups which may be quite alike are run by different managements; and the current assumption is that these respective managements represent interests and ideals which are almost sure to get into conflict. Thus it is a matter of self-interest, and one phase of this—economic self-interest—I wish to discuss.

That nationalism has everywhere had a great revival and is at the moment paramount is obvious; and it should be remarked in passing that this nationalism, even if it is largely a faith or belief, is none the less a very real thing. What is at the back of nationalism—what is its basis? One may have the belief in nationalism for one of several reasons: Because innately one considers it an institution of divine origin, imposed on man; because the nation is approved by human reason; because education and environment have fastened the belief on us so that it has become a part of us; or because we have a conscious or subconscious interest in the nation which causes us to rally about it under all conditions. If we consider the nation a divine institution, we accept it with acquiescent faith, and recognize that we need not, can not alter it for better or worse, but have merely to wait for supernal developments. If we get our belief in nationalism by education or environment we still must ask why these latter teach

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<sup>1</sup> This and the following paper by Prof. Laprade were contributions to the discussion of a paper by Prof. James Harvey Robinson, entitled: "Historical Aspects of Nationalism." For Prof. Robinson's point of view, see "What is National Spirit?" The Century Magazine, November, 1916.

nationalism. Are they perhaps merely perpetuating a conception which once had a natural origin? There is reason to believe it. Once the nation did represent a unit relatively isolated and complete, at least one within which the national interest was an ascertainable factor, because it was the interest of a monarch or a limited aristocracy. The self-interest of the ruler was bound up with the welfare of the nation and he was in a position to compel all others to accept his interpretation of the national interest, which was his own interest. In that day the concept of the nation coincided with the nation of reality, and this is the concept which histories and schools have perpetuated.

Meanwhile, for reasons known to us all, national isolation has broken down and by the processes of political, and especially commercial and cultural expansion, each nation has spilled over its boundaries into others until we have a very real interpenetration and interweaving of nations. But the concept of the nation and the separate political institutions under competing managements survive.

What has become of self-interest, once the backbone of nationalism, in the face of this new fabric of international intercourse?

The nation is a very useful and vital institution to many business enterprises which depend for their prosperity upon protective tariffs or foreign spheres of commercial preference, or which supply the nation with the arms with which to compete with other nations. These enterprises cordially believe in nationalism. Nationalism is also advocated by what may be called extranational commercialism—that is, enterprises which lie outside of national bounds. Ventures of this kind find the nation very useful and therefore are among the foremost preachers of nationalism.

But this extranational commercialism has set forces in motion which tend to weaken nationalism by shifting the center of self-interest. It is not merely or chiefly that their business is no longer national; it is the use they make of the nation. Capital seeks foreign investments because these investments yield greater profits, not ordinarily because of economic necessity. It finds that it can earn larger percentages when it is free from the control and burdensome restrictions and taxes of the homeland; that is, when it is free to make money fast in any convenient way. Though it escapes the control of the nation, it does not for that reason divest itself of national protection. So long as the enterprise succeeds, control by the nation is resisted; when it suffers, the nation is at once called upon for succor. The profits of success go to the enterprise; the costs of making it successful go to the nation—that is, to the taxpayer, or ultimately to the man who, by conscription if necessary, gives his life to assure that success.

Now, there is a world of difference between this extranational commercialism and national commercialism. The latter operates within the nation and accepts national jurisdiction and responsibility along with national protection.

But extranational commercialism does not. It profits by using the Nation. Will the average citizen long remain devoted to a nationalism which means profits for a powerful few and taxes, conscription, and holocausts like that in Europe for him? Hardly. It is largely a question of self-interest, and the average citizen will here not be governed by the ideal that it is more blessed to give than to receive. And just here democracy, a nineteenth-century factor, enters, for the common man, being a voter, is in a position to make his point of view honored. Unless, then, the average citizen is a real and welcome participant in the profits which flow from giving the national backing to an enterprise, he will not long tolerate nationalism. He will reject a system which, while pretending to exploit another people, is in reality also exploiting him. Of course he can be attached to nationalism by the fact that he shares, or is made to think that he shares, sufficiently in the proceeds. But this will continue only so long as he believes that his interest lies there. Nationalism means competition, perhaps war, with other nations. This means paying the cost of such competition in peace and war. Now, it seems that, so far as self-interest is a directing factor in this matter, the system of national competition will meet the approval of citizens only so long as the profits from it are believed to be greater than its costs. Individuals increasingly care more about the economic than the political conditions under which they live and are learning that the Nation as such is not in business and can not profit as such, but that it is altogether an individual matter everywhere. When the burdens and problems of national competition become so heavy and vexatious as to cast doubts on its advantages, we have arrived at a turning point. This has happened in the past. The Customs Union of Germany is a convenient illustration to show how the interest of particularistic groups ceased to be competitive and became cooperative, to be followed in due time by a political system expressive of what had already transpired in the economic and cultural spheres.

It is just this shifting of self-interest as one of the factors affecting nationalism to which I wish to call attention. In monarchical days the national self-interest as then defined certainly lay in the competition of nations; that is, in an aggressive nationalism. Now, national self-interest is the interest of the masses, and they have no small voice in determining what their interests are. Does their interest lie in maintaining the system of competitive nationalism or does it lie in cooperative unions after the precedent of the Zollverein?

The tendency of modern times has certainly been toward ever enlarging cooperative units, and the disposition toward economic disintegration is rare and generally futile.

As long as it is commonly believed that self-interest is bound up with the Nation, nationalism will have a basis in fact and will be something more than a faith. When, if ever, it becomes the common belief that self-interest is no longer best served by the Nation, nationalism will have lost what basis it still has in the material world and will be altogether an ideal. What living force there is in such an emotional ideal and whether it can long exist as such is a question that will, I hope, receive attention in this discussion. I content myself with suggesting the bearing of a shifting of sordid self-interest on the future of nationalism.

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XIII. NATIONALISM.

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By WILLIAM T. LAPRADE,  
*Professor of History in Trinity College, North Carolina.*

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## NATIONALISM.<sup>1</sup>

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By WILLIAM T. LAPRADE.

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I recognize that it would be difficult to write the history of human institutions in the past two or three centuries without some such words as nationalism and nationality, or phrases like national feeling and national spirit. The city States of the ancients, the feudal system and shadowy empire of the Middle Ages, and the dynastic States by which they were succeeded, have given place to the political groups which we call nations. But the groups to which we give this common appellation vary in size, form of government, and in a hundred other particulars, while it is difficult to find many characteristics common to all. Consequently it is not much easier to say what we mean by nationalism or national feeling than it would be to write the history of the past several centuries without using these expressions. While this vagueness of definition does not make these terms less useful in teaching undergraduates and writing for popular magazines, it does place the historian who makes use of such expressions in danger of having embarrassing questions propounded to him by some plain blunt fellow who is impolite enough to want to know precisely what is being said.

The first point that has impressed me is the failure to give a definition of nationalism that would silence a querist rude and naïve enough to insist on knowing just what the term means. I am afraid that it would not satisfy an inquirer of this type merely to explain that nationalism is a species of "mystical entity" or "corporate emotion," however familiar such terms may be to students of history. Let me say at once that I am unable to offer a more satisfactory definition of nationalism than those that have been suggested. My point is merely that this is a fundamental question which needs to be answered before we can go forward with any degree of success in studying the subject.

As regards the definition of nationalism, a recent writer has proved to his own satisfaction and with some plausibility, "that no one objective test of nationality will cover all cases. Race, language, religion, physical unity, political government, memories of the past,

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<sup>1</sup> This and the preceding paper by Prof. Krehbiel were contributions to the discussion of a paper by Prof. James Harvey Robinson, entitled: "Historical Aspects of Nationalism." For Prof. Robinson's point of view, see "What is National Spirit?" The Century Magazine, November, 1916.



and a common fund of ideas may contribute to patriotic sentiment, but they should never be confused with it." With more hardihood than I possess, however, this author, whose name has not yet been made public, suggests a test of nationality which, in his opinion, is universally valid. He says, for example:

If we wished to determine the nationality of an Alsatian, I do not think that we should ask the ethnologist whether he had a dolichocephalic or a brachycephalic head. I do not think we should ask the census taker what language he spoke or what church he attended. I do not think we should send surveyors to locate his house with reference to the watershed west of the Rhine Valley. I do not think we should ask the historian whether Alsace was a German Province stolen by Louis XIV or a French Province stolen by Bismarck. I think we should give the man himself a gun and ask him which he would rather fight for—France or Germany. When he answers you, you will have solved the puzzle of the man's nationality.

A difficulty with this test is that it could not be applied to a pacifist, or whatever hard name it is proper to call these unpopular persons. And I am not certain that it would tell us the vital things we want to know about the term nationalism as applied to France and Germany if we knew whether a majority of the people in Alsace or in those countries themselves would fight or vote one way or another. There is a strange doctrine abroad, to be sure, that all persons who believe in and are willing to fight for Germany are Germans, but surely there are many who believe in France and would in an emergency fight for her, who are, nevertheless, not Frenchmen. In other words, the rough and ready generalization, "the popular will is nationality," in which the author from whom I have quoted summarizes his conclusion, is scarcely more satisfactory than other definitions of nationalism.

The second point on which I respectfully beg leave to dissent is the contention that "modern national feeling is a by-product of another mystical entity, democracy." I dissent here not wholly because it would seem to be hazardous to have too many mystical entities in the same discussion. As the situation appears to me, it would be difficult to defend the thesis that democracy brought nationalism in its wake, if for no other reason than that nationalism (as I understand that term) made its appearance in Europe before democracy. Democracy, to be sure, is another word that is in need of adequate definition. But if we mean by democracy the assertion by the mass of the people of their right to a voice in the government, almost enough evidence has been brought to light to show that modern democracy is largely the outgrowth of the extensive urban life which first began to be noticeable in England in the eighteenth century and which was changed in character and made articulate in politics by the coming of the factory system and all that is involved in what we have agreed to call the industrial revolution. Now

if democracy came by this route, it is clear that as far as it has come at all it came to a very large extent in the nineteenth century.

Nationalism, on the other hand, began to make itself felt much earlier. I can find little that resembles modern democracy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to say nothing of the sixteenth, but I do find much in the England of the Tudors, of the Stuarts, and of Cromwell which reminds me of what I understand the term nationalism to mean. Again, while I do not find a great deal of practical democracy in the France of the old régime, of the Revolution, or of Napoleon, there again I find many things that suggest the national feeling which now seems to animate the subjects of William II. In both England and France, after the national spirit had been cultivated by many and diverse leaders in the fields of politics and literature, circumstances arose which affected the interests and compelled the attention of a considerable portion of the population. In England it was the attempt of the Stuarts to assert the doctrine that the king was above the law and to apply that doctrine in a way that touched the purses of the most prosperous and substantial elements among the people; in France an incompetent monarchy bankrupted its treasury, and as a final resort threw itself on the mercies of its subjects. In both cases the substantial element in the population—perhaps a larger proportion in France than in England—was put on its mettle, and as a result men began to do things for England and France in a way they had never done them for Henry VIII or Louis XIV. These occasions may therefore be described as the birth throes of nationalism in the two countries.

There was much talk of democracy on both occasions. Naturally there was more said on that subject in France in 1789 than had been said in England in 1649, for the French had the English notions and their own added to them. But in neither country was a serious and prolonged attempt made to work out a practical application of democratic theories.

In Prussia the incompetence of Frederick William II and the repressive measures of Napoleon cooperated to produce the circumstances necessary to stir the substantial elements in the population of that country. In consequence, Prussia became a nation, and the wars of liberation followed.

These reflections suggest a third point. If, as it seems to me, national feeling is born of practical circumstances which have many complex roots in the past, though they may culminate in some sort of a crisis, it follows that nationalism is not "spontaneously generated, owing to man's pronounced social instincts," nor is it a "reflection of his anxiety to be a part of a larger body in whose achievements and aspirations he can share." It is rather a natural stage in the evolutionary process by which men have developed institutions, usually

without a definite, conscious plan, without looking very far ahead, and frequently with no higher aim than to arrange a workable solution for the practical problems which have to be solved by a given generation. By some such process the old tribal organizations were transformed into the feudal régime, which, in turn, when it had served its purpose, gave place to the dynastic kingdoms. The change in the allegiance of the subjects from the king to the country and the consequent birth of national feeling was but the next step in the process. And if this nationalism, which we have recently discovered, is destined to give way to an internationalism of one sort or another, I am persuaded that this last stage also will come, because circumstances have produced a practical problem which can not be solved if nations go on emphasizing their particularities and arming themselves against each other. The economic and other burdens which the war is heaping on the leading European nations may very well convince their statesmen, where an appeal to reason would fail, that the necessitous conditions into which they are drifting call for a sacrifice of prejudices and feelings on which they have formerly set great store. And so it is not out of the realm of the probable that the close of the war may mark a decided step in the direction of international cooperation with regard to matters which nations in the past have guarded jealously as a vital element in their sovereignty. At any rate, it is unlikely that this internationalism, when it comes, will require any "clearer thinking" or "more conscious adjustment" than did the coming of the nation to take the place of the inchoate monarchy which preceded it. The kingdom of God, we are told, comes not with observation, and that is by no means the least profound statement in the Scriptures.

My conclusion is easy to state. Nationalism is one of that species of subjects concerning which it is possible to say a great deal without much precise knowledge on which to base our statements. In fact, the only thing pertaining to nationalism about which I should be willing at present to commit myself in definite language is that it is the most fertile field for doctoral dissertations in modern history with which I am acquainted. To change the metaphor, it is an historical gold field in which, if I were conducting a seminar in modern history, I should make haste to stake a claim; not because all of the prospects are in danger of being reserved, but because it offers the richest possibilities of immediate returns of any species of historical undertakings now in sight. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that hundreds of monographs must be written before it will be possible to say with authority what nationalism was in the past, what it is now, or what it is likely to become. For it scarcely needs be said that the search for a hard and fast definition of modern nationalism will be an unsuccessful quest. When it began to emerge in the England

of the Tudors if not sooner, as I maintain, it was by no means the same thing it has come to be in the Germany of to-day. Nor is the nationalism of Germany to-day identical with that of France, Italy, Great Britain, or the United States. Moreover, each of these differences harks back to forces in the past concerning which, as yet, we do not have a large fund of reliable information.

And so, if we are to know much that is worth while about nationalism, we shall have to betake ourselves anew to the records of the past and search for whatever expressions of national feeling we may find in the productions of playwrights, divines, editors, politicians, historians, and others who had a public audience. We shall have to ascertain the motives and intentions of these purveyors of the opinions of their time, the sources of their inspiration, and the character and size of the audiences to which they addressed themselves. It will not suffice, for example, to compile the statements concerning national feeling which may be gleaned from Shakespeare or other Tudor dramatists; it will be necessary to know what purpose they expected to serve by these statements and the character of the audiences which they hoped to interest. This sort of laborious spade work needs to be done not only for the England of that time, but for other countries as well and for all countries in the period from that time until now.

To hear the conclusion of the whole matter, then, almost the only definite statement which, as it seems to me, one is warranted by the evidence now at hand in making concerning nationalism, is that this real if indefinite subject offers to students of history a well-nigh virgin field for investigation, with the possibility of obtaining results of genuine worth and of general interest.

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XIV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

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WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 29, 1915.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

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The Twelfth Annual Conference of Historical Societies met December 29, 1915, at 10.15 a. m., in the north end of the ballroom at the New Willard Hotel. In the absence of President L. G. Tyler, Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society, took the chair, welcoming the members and speaking of the general character of the conference.

The secretary, Dr. A. H. Shearer, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, reported that in December the invitation to the conference had been extended to about 500 societies, and that 27 had responded by the appointment of delegates. A question blank for societies to fill out had been sent at the same time, and replies had been received from about 90 societies. These replies and those since received have been digested and appear as Appendix I to this report, as usual. The secretary forbore further comments and suggestions until the end of the meeting.

Dr. Shearer also reported that the committee appointed by the council to consider the resolution passed by the conference in 1913, requesting the council "to take the necessary steps for the preparation of a comprehensive survey of the organization and activities of historical agencies in the United States and Canada," consisting of Mr. W. G. Leland and himself, had considered various plans, and before reporting to the council would ask the opinion of the conference. The committee's memoranda were as follows:

One of the most important matters is the compilation of a bibliography of all the publications of American historical societies since 1905, the date when Mr. Griffin's bibliography came to a close. The question is, whether the volumes of "Writings on American history" adequately fill the gap between 1905 and the present time. Everything of any value in historical society proceedings is included in the "Writings." The only objection is that the investigator can not from the arrangement of the "Writings" ascertain the number of contents of the publications of the societies. Is this enough to warrant the compilation of a volume similar to Griffin's bibliography covering the period of 1905 to 1915? Apart from this is the question of future compilations. It might be arranged with the compiler of "Writings" to make such additions to the annual bibliography in such form as to fill all the uses to which the bibliography of the publications of historical societies would be put. Or it might be advisable to compile an annual index to publications of historical societies after the manner of Poole's Index. This might be in several parts, perhaps, as follows:

(a) Classified list of all articles appearing in the publications indexed; (b)

chronological calendar of all documents printed; (c) alphabetical list of all portraits and illustrations; (d) complete subject and author index. This might be preceded or followed by an annual list of all historical societies and titles of their publications.

In the discussion that followed Dr. J. F. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, thought that Griffin's Bibliography ought to be continued. It would not be so difficult as might be supposed if duplicates were omitted. But, on the other hand, a continuation from 1905 to 1915 would be formidable, and the American Historical Association could not at the present time afford it. The money required for the general index, now in process, was quite a drain on the association, but after 1916 the council would probably have more money, and a continuation of Griffin's Bibliography on a more economical plan would be possible. Moreover, the guaranty for the "Writings" runs out in 1916, and it would not be possible to enlarge that publication. Dr. S. J. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society, thought an enlarged issue of the "Writings" was not necessary; that it would be better to have a 10-year addition to Griffin.

The chairman of the committee on cooperation of historical departments and societies, Dr. Dunbar Rowland, was not present. Dr. Jameson reported that, owing to the war, the work was in the same state as last year.

The subject of discussion by the conference was "The papers of business houses in historical work." Dr. M. M. Quaife, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, spoke on the collecting of such papers. At Madison there are many valuable papers of this kind. Of especial note are the papers relating to the fur trade. The "Strong papers" were received from the granddaughter of the original possessor after requests on the part of the secretary of the society. They consist of various classes—lumbering, including speculative attempts, railroad, mining, and miscellaneous; and all together are very important for the history of the development of the State. Last year a similar lot of papers was received, the Woodman papers, consisting of 180 volumes of accumulated manuscripts. Woodman began at the age of 19, so that they are complete in their nature. The papers are important for wildcat banking and railroad research.

Of a different kind are the Plankinton Bank papers. In the 1893 panic the bank went under; its affairs were in the courts for 10 years. The question arose as to what to do with the papers. The receivers petitioned the court to turn them over to the State historical society. Thirty large boxes were received by court order. There is no room for these, and the question arises, What to do with them? And a further question if any more such should be received.

The problem in the Middle West, Dr. Quaife continued, is not that of the East. Mr. Worthington C. Ford told him that hardly



a month went past that unsolicited contributions were not received at the Massachusetts Historical Society. It shows that the historic sense is more keenly developed in the East than in the West. In the West the State-supported societies may be vigorous and active, but the people in general do not consider them repositories of papers from which history can be written, nor do they have the instinct that the papers will be valuable for historical research. This explains the difficulty, in Wisconsin at least, in collecting the papers of business houses. Another obstacle is that so many concerned in the businesses mentioned are still living; also that the ethics of business has changed since the early days of some houses still in existence.

One of the main questions, Dr. Quaife thought, was whether any papers could be destroyed.

Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan, spoke on the use of the papers of business houses in historical research, particularly those of the South. Most of the ledgers he had examined were so bare of details and explanations that their use is greatly hampered except where keys to their abbreviations and hiatuses can be had from other sources. The letter books, he said, on the other hand, are generally full enough in structure to permit ready comprehension of their content and import. Some of those written in the Chesapeake ports and now preserved in the New York Public, the Congressional, and the Virginia State libraries he had found to be illuminating on many subjects in addition to the tobacco trade. They tell, for example, of the decay of old houses by reason of the American Revolution and the prosperity of new men with methods and connections to which the men of the traditional system were strangers. They tell, too, of the methods of smuggling goods into the West Indies despite the French and British prohibitions, and the smuggling activity at Amelia Island before and during the War of 1812. Among the quite uncommercial items occasionally to be met with he cited a letter of William Allason, written at Falmouth, Va., in 1787, to his niece who had urged him to return to his ancestral Scottish home for his declining years. In giving his reasons for declining, Allason wrote:

And there is another thing which in your country you can have no trial of—that is, of selling faithful slaves, which perhaps we have raised from their earliest breath. Even this, however, some can do, as with horses, etc., but I must own that it is not in my disposition.<sup>1</sup>

The way in which a merchant might transform the industry of his patrons was exemplified in the case of Moses Lindo, who emigrated from London to Charleston in 1756 as an indigo dealer

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Jan. 22, 1787, in the Allason mercantile books in the Virginia State Library.

and by his expertness in grading and his knowledge of the methods of preparing the staple caused a great improvement in the quality of South Carolina indigo and enhanced the prosperity of the planters.<sup>1</sup>

The records of ante-bellum plantations, Prof. Phillips said, are regrettably scant, and yet they exist in sufficient volume to permit students to reconstruct the régime. The records of the slave trade, he concluded, are the most lacking of all. The ship manifests now preserved in the Library of Congress throw a good deal of light upon the coastwise branch of this trade, particularly as conducted to and from the ports of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, but the discovery of actual ledgers, journals, and letter books of the traders in slaves is yet to be achieved.

Several took part in the discussion. Mr. F. H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society, was decidedly of the opinion that a historical society may collect business papers, but thought the proposition was a different one in different communities, depending largely on the business with which the community was most largely concerned. In Buffalo it was transportation, especially Lake transportation, and papers relating to such business are sought for and prized. Business items of a century ago find value—why not the business transactions of to-day, when the grain business totals to \$100,000,000? Must the historical society look after the preservation of the records of this? Not necessarily, for every city has its chamber of commerce. The problem, then, is to discriminate. On the general question all are agreed that business sheds light on the evolution of communities.

Mr. Clark, of the Iowa State Historical Society, thought that historical societies might supplement their efforts at collection by urging business houses to make provision for the preservation of their own papers, as has been done by some concerns.

Ex-Gov. L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, indicated some of the excellent work being done in New Mexico. The New Mexico Historical Society has come into possession of the books of the leading firms engaged in the business of the Santa Fe trail and of the merchants who carried on a very large business with the Government and the civil and military officials during the period of active Army operations in the Southwest. It has the journal of one of the prominent merchants who personally made the journeys with the caravans across the plains, buying in St. Louis and selling in Santa Fe. Besides this, the Alvarez collection has proved to be a mine of material. Manuel Alvarez was United States consul and a leading merchant and banker before the American occupation. Through his

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1905), ch. 3.

papers it is possible to estimate the export of gold into the United States, for before the discovery of the California gold nearly all gold came into the United States from New Mexico through Alvarez. The entire wholesale distribution of goods for the Southwest was from Santa Fe, and we can now get first-hand information.

Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, of the Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia), said that it would be surprising to many to know that his society had some papers of a business house, those of J. & D. McCoun, and McCoun, Tilford & Co., of Lexington, Ky., covering the years from 1785 to 1825, and illustrating very well transportation from Philadelphia to Kentucky. He felt that his society had no business in having these papers, and he would like to see them transferred to Kentucky. Such a matter of exchanges and transfers would be a good thing for the conference to take up.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, said the matter of collecting was in his mind a problem of accumulation. It would be solved if the collecting was continued for older business houses and if present concerns were urged to take care of their own papers. The New York Public Library already has a good collection of letter books, journals, ledgers, and other commercial records. He gave examples of some of the papers and stated the opinion which Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of Yale, had of their considerable value. As to the matter of destruction of records, he thought it would be found true that the member of the library staff best informed was usually the one with the least time to examine papers for destroying.

The Secretary then read part of the letter from Mr. W. C. Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

It seems to me that the question of collecting rests rather with such institutions as have created colleges of business administration. We have such a college in Harvard University, and it is making an effort to collect the papers and records of commercial houses. The quantity of such records is usually so great and the detail involves so much duplication that no society like this or any other historical society can afford to make it a practice to receive and preserve them in their entirety. It is one of the cases where the historical interest is overshadowed by the social and and economic.

The reference to Harvard made of interest a letter from Prof. Edwin F. Gay, part of which was:

I have had several students in recent years studying American economic history and using papers of business houses in their research work (shoe industry, woolen industry). There is no question about the fact that very important materials in economic history may be gathered from this source. I may add that here in our business school library we have for some years past been collecting, where opportunity offered, business accounts or papers, and putting them in our "Confidential archives."

The conference with this closed the discussion and opportunity was given to Mr. A. Howard Clark, of the Smithsonian Institution, a

delegate of the California Genealogical Society, to present the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Annual Conference of Historical Societies assembled under the auspices of the American Historical Association heartily indorse the sentiment expressed in the following preamble and resolutions adopted by the International Congress of Genealogy held at San Francisco, Cal., July 28 to 31, 1915:

Whereas from the foundation or discovery of this country to the present time there has been no systematic effort toward the establishment of a complete registration of vital statistics; and

Whereas the many different departments of the United States Government itself need such a compilation; and

Whereas the nucleus of such an institution is now in existence in the Bureau of the Census; and

Whereas such a system can only be properly inaugurated and conducted by the Government, which can make compliance compulsory; and

Whereas the Government can manage the details of such an undertaking more cheaply and more completely than can any other element; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, the International Congress of Genealogy, hereby memorialize the United States Government to take such steps as may be necessary to establish and maintain a National Bureau of Registration of Vital Statistics, either by an enlargement of the present Bureau of the Census or the establishment of a new department; and be it

*Resolved*, That copies of all authentic vital statistics now on record in the various counties of this entire country be made and filed in accordance with up-to-date methods now in vogue; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the component parts of this Congress of Genealogy be and are hereby requested to use every personal and collective influence to accomplish this much to be desired result.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The secretary then took up the part of his report which he had deferred. The question was, Had the conference lost its identity and become merely another session of the American Historical Association? Was there any change which could be made which would improve the conference, or had its usefulness ceased? As to delegates, of the 27 appointed very few were present, and hence the conference was without any official character or power. In response to the questionnaire about 90 societies replied, and these replies would be tabulated and printed as formerly, but it seemed an imposition to ask societies to do this year after year when some never responded, and it seemed almost a useless expenditure of effort to print reports from so few of the total number. Furthermore, as the printed reports appear nearly two years after the meeting, no interest can be sustained in the meetings by societies which are not represented by delegates who will give reports.

In the discussion that followed, various gentlemen took part. Mr. Prince thought this was a most important meeting; the only one of the whole series of American Historical Association meetings where people could really confer. The life of the whole matter lies in a

conference of spoken words. Other speakers included Mr. Paltsits; Father O'Brien, of Michigan; Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, of the Iowa State Historical Society. One suggestion was made to request the State societies for a 2 to 5 cent tax; another that it would be better if the conference elected its own officers.

At the close of the discussion the secretary moved the appointment by the chairman of a committee of three to advise the secretary as to the future of the conference; to report at the conference in 1916. This was carried, and the chairman appointed Prof. Shambaugh, Dr. Thomas M. Owen, of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, and Dr. S. P. Heilman, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.

AUGUSTUS HUNT SHEARER, *Secretary*.

## APPENDIX I.

### REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1915.<sup>1</sup>

#### ALABAMA.

*Iberville Historical Society*.—L. de v. Chandron, Mobile. (1909.)

#### ALASKA.

*Alaska Historical Library and Museum*.—Governor is custodian, Juneau. (1912.)

#### ARIZONA.

*Arizona Pioneers Historical Society*.—John E. Magee, Tucson. (1913.)

#### ARKANSAS.

*Arkansas Historical Association*.—Conway. (1909, 1912.)

*Arkansas Historical Commission*.—Dallas T. Herndon, Little Rock. This is a State board of nine members supported by State appropriations. It has new and excellent equipment for museum, library, and State archives. It issues quarterly bulletins and biennial reports, the latter in collaboration with the Arkansas Historical Association. It now has a legislative reference library and has made notable progress in collecting manuscripts, books, portraits, and Indian remains. (1913.)

#### CALIFORNIA.

*Academy of Pacific Coast History*.—H. Morse Stephens, Berkeley. (1913.)

*California Genealogical Society*.—Sarah Louise Kimball, 1113 Claus Spreckels Building, San Francisco. The society has 17 honorary, 25 corresponding, and 166 resident members. Its first publication since the fire of 1906, "Proceedings of the International Congress of Genealogy, held at San Francisco, July 28-31, 1915." It has 500 bound volumes, pamphlets, and charts at Fairmont Hotel. (1912, 1914.)

*California Historical Survey Commission*.—J. M. Guinn, 5539 Monte Vista Street, Los Angeles.

*Historical Society of Southern California*.—J. M. Guinn, 5539 Monte Vista Street, Los Angeles. The society has 83 members; the dues are \$3; it possesses 5,000 books and curios in the museum of the History Building. It is trying to extend its exchange list and obtain complete sets of historical societies' publications. Has published "Collections," I-IX, 1884-1915.

#### COLORADO.

*State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado*.—Charles R. Dudley, Denver. (1909, 1913, 1914.)

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<sup>1</sup> Questionnaires were sent out to about 500 historical societies, and as usual about 100 replied. Since the reports are not printed immediately the incentive for answering is not great, but the information which is given from year to year by different societies is much appreciated, and the total since 1909 forms a valuable mass of information on this subject. To facilitate reference, all societies which have reported since reports were first asked for are here listed with the name of the secretary (last report) and the years when their reports were made.

## CONNECTICUT.

*Acorn Club*.—William J. James, Middletown. (1913, 1914.)

*Connecticut Historical Society*.—Albert C. Bates, Hartford. (1910, 1912.)

*Middlesex County Historical Society*.—H. C. Whittlesey, Middletown. (1909.)

## DELAWARE.

*Historical Society of Delaware*.—J. Danforth Bush, Ninth and Market Streets, Wilmington. (1911, 1912.)

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

*Columbia Historical Society*.—Mary Stevens Beall, 2226 N Street, Washington. Society has 237 members. It publishes an annual volume of "Records." Most of its possessions packed ready to move into new quarters. (1913.)

## FLORIDA.

*St. Augustine Institute of Science and Historical Society*.—Alva H. Perkins, box 371, St. Augustine. Society has about 100 members. It has at Fort Marion a collection of rare books, firearms, pictures, and Indian relics, and has installed here an efficient guide service with lectures on the city and fort. (1909.)

## HAWAII.

*Hawaiian Historical Society*.—Howard M. Ballou, Honolulu. (1909.)

## ILLINOIS.

*Chicago Historical Society*.—Seymour Morris, secretary; Caroline M. McIlwaine, librarian, 632 North Dearborn Street. The society has 11 honorary life members, 13 life members, 225 annual members, 112 honorary and corresponding members. It published in 1914 a "Yearbook" and "Jefferson and Lemon Compact," by W. C. McNeal, and is to publish "The Illinois and Michigan Canal," by J. W. Putnam. It has purchased from the Law family (Green Bay, Wis.) 3,000 papers relating to the fur trade, copy of the letter book of the American Fur Co., 1823-1830. (1910, 1913, 1914.)

*Evanston Historical Society*.—J. O. Currey, president. The society has about 500 members, 3,000 volumes, many manuscripts, and 5 cases of museum objects. (1909, 1910.)

*German-American Historical Society of Illinois*.—Emil Mannhards, 1608 Mallers Building, 55 Wabash Avenue, Chicago. (1909.)

*Illinois Centennial Commission*.—Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, secretary; C. W. Alvord, editor in chief. This is a State commission, which has organized a board of authors for the proposed "Centennial History of Illinois," in five volumes, to be published in 1918. It receives \$8,500 annually.

*Illinois Historical Survey*.—C. W. Alvord, director, 418 Lincoln Hall, Urbana. This is a department of the graduate school of Illinois, composed of five members of the faculty, with headquarters in Lincoln Hall, with books, manuscripts, and photostat, receiving \$4,500, and intending to publish a five-volume history of Illinois. (1913, 1914.)

*Illinois State Historical Library and Society*.—Mrs. Jessie P. Weber, Springfield. (1913, 1914.)

*Illinois State Historical Library and Society*.—Editorial office, C. W. Alvord, editor, 418 Lincoln Hall, Urbana. The society receives \$5,750 from the State, of which it is a department. It has published in 1915 "Collections," X, "The Critical Period, 1763-1765," by Alvord and Carter; XI, "The New

Régime, 1765-1767," by Alvord and Carter; XII, "County Archives," by T. C. Pease.

*Peoria Historical Society*.—E. S. Willcox, Peoria. (1912.)

*Polo Historical Society*.—J. W. Clinton. (1914.)

*Whiteside County Historical Society*.—W. M. Davis, Sterling. (1909, 1911, 1913, 1914.)

*Will County Pioneer Association*.—W. W. Stevens, Joliet. (1911.)

*Woodford County Historical Society*.—Amanda L. Jennings, Eureka. Membership, 66. The society, which receives an appropriation from the board of county supervisors, intends to open an Indian mound in the west part of the county. (1913.)

#### INDIANA.

*Cass County Historical Society*.—Mrs. Ella Ballard, Logansport. The society has 75 members. Has recently received a \$3,500 lot and expects to build a permanent home. It has issued "History of Cass County." (1910, 1912.)

*Grant County Historical Society*.—R. L. Whitson, Marion. (1910, 1911, 1912.)

*Henry County Historical Society*.—John Thornburgh, New Castle. (1910.)

*Indiana Historical Society*.—J. P. Dunn, room 87, Statehouse, Indianapolis. (1910, 1913, 1914.)

*Indiana Historical Survey*.—Logan Esarey, Bloomington. This is a part of the State university, which provides its funds. It is to publish the governors' messages, and publishes the "Indiana Magazine of History." (1913.)

*Indiana State Library, Department of Archives*.—Harlow Lindley, director, Richmond. (1913, 1914.)

*La Porte County Historical Society*.—Mary T. Clarke, 1518 Michigan Avenue, La Porte. Society is to join in the Indiana Centennial and the marking of historic sites. (1910.)

*Monroe County Historical Society*.—Logan Esarey, Bloomington. (1911, 1913.)

*Northern Indiana Historical Society*.—George A. Baker, South Bend. (1911.)

#### IOWA.

*Decatur Historical Society*.—Herman C. Smith, Lamoni. (1909.)

*Jefferson County Historical Society*.—Hiram Heaton, Glendale. The society has 27 members, has placed the oldest house in the county on its grounds, and proposes to mark a number of historic sites. (1913, 1914.)

*State Historical Society of Iowa*.—Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent, Iowa City. The society has about 650 members, \$20,000 annual support from the State. Its publications for 1915 were: "Journal of History and Politics"; "Iowa Applied History Series," II, "History of Social Legislation in Iowa"; pocket edition of the "Constitution of Iowa"; "One Hundred Topics in Iowa History" (bulletin of information). (1909, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1914.)

#### KANSAS.

*Kansas State Historical Society*.—William E. Connelly, Topeka. The society has 650 members and receives \$12,000 a year from the State in addition to its dues. It has published 13 volumes of "Collections" and 19 biennial "Reports." (1910, 1913, 1914.)

#### KENTUCKY.

*Kentucky State Historical Society*.—Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, Frankfort. (1909.)



## LOUISIANA.

*Louisiana Historical Society*.—Pierce Butler, 2224 Milan Street, New Orleans. (1912, 1914.)

## MAINE.

*Bangor Historical Society*.—Edward M. Blanding. The society has 250 members. It has published "Fiftieth Anniversary of the Bangor Historical Society," and with the Piscataqua County Historical Society and the Castine Board of Trade held an historical field day in July, 1915. (1911.)

*Maine Genealogical Society*.—George S. Hobbs, 621 Congress Street, Portland. (1911, 1912.)

*Maine Historical Society*.—W. D. Patterson, secretary, Wiscasset, Evelyn L. Gilmore, librarian, Portland. The membership of the society has gone from 250 to 400 in 1912. Monthly lectures have been arranged. The funds of the Reed Memorial Association have been transferred to it.

## MARYLAND.

*Historical Society of Harford County*.—H. S. O'Neill, Belair. (1910.)

*Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*.—J. Leonard Hoffman, 1113 West Lanvale Street, Baltimore. (1910.)

## MASSACHUSETTS.

*American Antiquarian Society*.—C. S. Brigham, Worcester. In 1915 the society published "Proceedings," volume 24, part 2, and volume 25, part 1. (1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914.)

*Amherst Historical Society*.—David Todd. (1914.)

*Bay State Historical League*.—A. Starbuck, Waltham. Fifty-four Massachusetts societies are members. (1911, 1912.)

*Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society*.—H. H. Ballard, Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield. (1912, 1913.)

*Beverly Historical Society*.—Rev. B. R. Bulkeley, Hale Street. (1912.)

*Billerica Historical Society*.—Mrs. Clara E. Sexton. (1914.)

*Bostonian Society*.—Charles F. Read, Old Statehouse. (1912.)

*Brookline Historical Society*.—Edward W. Baker. The society has a membership of 225 and a permanent fund of \$1,200. It has charge of the Edward Devotion House (built in 1680) as a local historical museum and has published annual "Proceedings" since 1901. (1911.)

*Cambridge Historical Society*.—Albert H. Hall, 16 Gray Street. (1913, 1914.)

*Club of Odd Volumes*.—James Parker Parmenter, 50 Mount Vernon Street, Boston. (1912.)

*Colonial Society of Massachusetts*.—Rev. Charles E. Park, 347 Marlborough Street, Boston. The society, limited to 100 resident, 50 corresponding, and 20 honorary members, now has 96 resident, 26 corresponding, and 5 honorary members, and an endowment of \$70,000 devoted to its publications, of which there have been 12 volumes of "Transactions" and 3 volumes of "Collections." It is now printing "The Manuscript Records of Harvard College" and the "Royal Commissions and Instructions to the Provincial Governors of Massachusetts." (1910.)

*Connecticut Valley Historical Society*.—Henry S. Booth, Springfield. The society has about 250 members and publishes "Papers and Proceedings." (1911.)

*Dedham Historical Society*.—Charles E. Mills, Dedham. (1911, 1912.)

- Dover Historical and Natural History Society*.—Sarah A. Higgins. (1910.)
- Essex Institute*.—George Francis Dow, Salem. (1909-1914.)
- Fitchburg Historical Society*.—Ebenezer Bailey, secretary; Theresa N. Garfield, librarian. (1909-1914.)
- Harvard Commission on Western History*.—Roger Pierce, Harvard Library. (1913, 1914.)
- Harvard History Club*.—R. F. Arragon, 62 College House, Cambridge. The society has about 40 members, its only activity being a lecture about once a month.
- Haverhill Historical Society*.—Mrs. Mabel D. Mason, 3 Belvidere Road. The society, with about 325 members, has several thousand dollars invested, owns a colonial mansion, the first frame house erected in Haverhill, and many other objects of interest. (1912, 1913, 1914.)
- Historical Society of Old Newbury*.—Harrlette E. Jones, 34 Boardman Street, Newburyport. The society has 400 members and funds amounting to \$5,479.61. It owns a house and grounds, publishes occasionally, has monthly lectures, frequent exhibitions, and gives prizes for historical essays.
- Hyde Park Historical Society*.—Charles G. Chick. (1910.)
- Lexington Historical Society*.—Clara W. Harrington. The society has 318 members and \$12,583.75 trust funds, with an income of \$2,000 unexpended. It owns the Hancock-Clark House, Munroe Tavern, Old Belfry, and has a 99-year lease of Buckman Tavern. It has published "Proceedings," "History of Lexington" (1913), "Epitaphs," and "Lexington Guide Book." (1910, 1912.)
- Littleton Historical Society*.—Miss S. F. White. The society has about 15 members and possesses two cases of relics. (1912.)
- Lowell Historical Society*.—Francis E. Appleton, care of Locks & Canals Co. The society has 200 members and about \$1,500. It has published Volume I, Nos. 1 and 2, of "Contributions."
- Lynn Historical Society*.—William E. Dorman, 38 Exchange Street. (1913.)
- Malden Historical Society*.—George W. Chamberlain, 29 Hillside Avenue. (1909, 1913, 1914.)
- Marblehead Historical Society*.—Hannah Tutt. The society is to publish "The Old Square-Riggers and Men Who Sailed Them," by B. J. Lindsay. (1911, 1913.)
- Massachusetts Historical Society*.—William R. Thayer, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston. (1912.)
- Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants*.—George E. Bowman, 53 Mount Vernon Street, Boston. The society has 780 members and has published 18 volumes of "The Mayflower Descendant," 3 volumes of "Pilgrim Notes and Queries," and 5 volumes of town records.
- Medfield Historical Society*.—Harriet A. Fowle. (1910, 1912.)
- Medford Historical Society*.—George S. T. Fuller, 7 Alfred Street. The society has 155 members and publishes the "Medford Historical Register" quarterly. A new building is being considered. (1909, 1910, 1911.)
- Medway Historical Society*.—John R. Labaree, West Medway. The society has 75 members. It possesses a lecture hall and several rooms containing objects of interest. (1911, 1913, 1914.)
- Mendon Historical Society*.—Mrs. L. W. Holbrook. The society has about 200 members and \$300. It has published "The Thompson Family," by Adrian Scott. (1913.)
- Methuen Historical Society*.—Elizabeth B. Currier. (1910, 1911.)
- Military History Society of Massachusetts*.—Evelyn M. Turner, Cadet Armory, Boston. (1910, 1912, 1913, 1914.)

- Milton Historical Society*.—Eleanor P. Martin. The society has 354 members and \$425 invested. A regular bulletin is being considered. (1912.)
- Nantucket Historical Association*.—Elizabeth C. Bennett. (1909, 1910.)
- New England Historic Genealogical Society*.—John Albee, 18 Somerset Street, Boston. (1909, 1910.)
- New England Methodist Historical Society*.—Rev. George F. Durgin, 36 Bromfield Street, Boston. (1910, 1912.)
- Oakham Historical Society*.—Henry B. Wright, 20 Livingston Street, New Haven, Conn. The society has published "Independence Day in 1797 in Oakham," by H. P. Wright; "The Crawford Family," by Gen. William Crawford; "John French, Jr.," by H. B. Wright; "Oakham in My Boyhood Days," by C. M. Packard; "History of Oakham," by H. P. Wright.
- Old Planters' Society*.—Lucie M. Gardner, 4 Lynde Street, Salem. The membership is limited to the descendants of those who came to New England prior to 1630.
- Old South Association in Boston*.—George A. Goddard, 16 Central Street. (1912, 1913.)
- Orange Historical and Antiquarian Society*.—Mrs. C. M. Mayo, 24 Winter Street. The society has 20 members and has a room in the Wheeler Memorial Library.
- Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association*.—M. Elizabeth Stebbins, Deerfield. (1909.)
- The Prince Society*.—Albert Matthews, 12 Bosworth Street, Boston. (1909, 1910.)
- Quinabaug Historical Society*.—Mary E. Clemens, Southbridge. (1910, 1911.)
- Roxbury Historical Society*.—Walter R. Meins. (1911-1914.)
- Rumford Historical Association*.—Andrew R. Linscott, North Woburn. (1909.)
- Sharon Historical Society*.—John G. Phillips. (1911, 1913.)
- Shepard Historical Society*.—Miss Marion F. Lansing, 49 Dana Street, Cambridge. The society has 40 members, a library, and collection of pictures in connection with the First Church of Cambridge. (1911, 1912.)
- Sherborn Historical Society*.—Elizabeth D. Coolidge. The society has 70 members. It has a room in the new Dowse Library, and possesses a small collection of books and museum objects. (1914.)
- Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities*.—William S. Appleton. (1914.)
- Somerville Historical Society*.—William B. Holmes, 317 Broadway, Winter Hill P. O., Boston. (1912.)
- Topsfield Historical Society*.—George Francis Dow. (1909, 1911.)
- Unitarian Historical Society*.—George Hale Reed, 25 Beacon Street, Boston. (1909.)
- Westboro Historical Society*.—Charles M. Packard. The society has a membership of 105 and a publishing fund of \$175. It has published "The Old Houses," an annual calendar; "Story of the Rice Boys"; "The Tin Kitchen"; "Parkman Diary."
- Worcester Society of Antiquity*.—Walter Davidson, 39 Salisbury Street. (1909, 1911.)

## MICHIGAN.

- Historical Society of Grand Rapids*.—Samuel H. Ranck. (1909, 1910, 1911, 1913.)
- Kewanee Historical Society*.—J. A. Doelle, Houghton. (1914.)
- Michigan Historical Commission*.—Charles Moore, Lansing. (1913, 1914.)
- Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*.—Charles Moore, Lansing. (1909, 1913.)

## MINNESOTA.

*Minnesota Historical Society.*—Solon J. Buck, St. Paul. The society has 335 active, 21 honorary, 79 corresponding members, and an annual appropriation from the State of \$20,000. A \$500,000 building is now under construction. The publications for 1915 were "Minnesota Historical Collections," Volume XVI; "Eighteenth Biennial Report," "Minnesota History Bulletin," Volume I, Nos. 1-4. The "Bulletin" and a Scandinavian collection were started in 1915. A new by-law centralizes the society's work in an executive committee and a superintendent, under the general direction of the executive council. (1911-1914.)

*The Pipestone County Old Settlers' Historical Society.*—Charles H. Burnett, Pipestone City. The society has about 100 members, has rooms in the basement of the new courthouse. It possesses a complete file of the newspapers published in the county.

## MISSISSIPPI.

*Mississippi Department of Archives and History.*—Dunbar Rowland, Statehouse, Jackson. (1909.)

## MISSOURI.

*Missouri Historical Society.*—Charles P. Pettus, secretary, Stella M. Drumm, librarian, Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis. The society has a membership of 560 and an endowment of \$83,970. It has published "Collections," Volume IV, No. 3, and will publish "Journal of an Expedition up the Missouri River, 1812-1813," edited by Stella M. Drumm. The society possesses the St. Louis French and Spanish archives, 1765-1804, and the Chouteau collections. Receives no aid from the State. (1913.)

*Pike County Historical Society.*—Clayton Keith, Louisiana, secretary; Champ Clark, president. The society has a membership of 150. It has published "Biographical Sketches of Pioneer Families," "Military History of Pike County," and will publish "Pike County Sketch Book." It articulates with the State Historical Society. (1909, 1911-1914.)

*State Historical Society of Missouri.*—Floyd Shoemaker, Columbia. (1910, 1913.)

## MONTANA.

*Historical and miscellaneous department of the Montana State Library.*—W. Y. Pemberton, Helena. (1909, 1914.)

## NEBRASKA.

*Nebraska State Historical Society.*—Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln. The society has a membership of 1,600; it receives a State appropriation of \$20,440. A new building is under construction. The society has published "Proceedings and Collections," Volume XVII, and is planning for the celebration of Nebraska's semicentennial, March 1, 1917, and is surveying and marking the California Trail, the Oregon Trail being completed. (1909, 1910, 1913.)

## NEVADA.

*Nevada Historical Society.*—Jennie E. Wier, Reno. The society has about 200 members, received for 1915-16 a State appropriation of \$5,000. It has a small brick building with several thousand books and museum objects. It has published three "Biennial Reports." Is a trustee of the State.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*Manchester Historical Association*.—Fred W. Lamb, 452 Merrimack Street. The membership is 250. The society has added three exhibition cases. (1909-1914.)

*New Hampshire Genealogical Society*.—Fred E. Quimby, 22 New York Street, Dover. (1911.)

*New Hampshire Historical Society*.—O. G. Hammond, Concord. (1909-1912, 1914.)

## NEW JERSEY.

*Bergen County Historical Society*.—Mrs. Frances A. Westervelt, 110 Sussex Street, Hackensack. (1909-1912, 1914.)

*Gloucester County Historical Society*.—T. E. Parker, Woodbury. (1910-1913.)

*Hunterdon County Historical Society*.—H. E. Deats, Flemington. The society, with a membership of 46 members, has a room in the public library, possesses about 300 books, 500 manuscripts, and 150 museum objects. (1909-1911.)

*New Brunswick Historical Club*.—Richard Morris. (1909, 1914.)

*New Jersey Historical Society*.—A. V. D. Honeyman, Plainfield. "Proceedings," 1915, have been published. During 1914-15 the society added 918 volumes, 756 pamphlets, 1,174 manuscripts, and 380 curios. Of these, 200 volumes, 500 pamphlets, and 1,000 manuscripts were from the collection of the late William Nelson, purchased at the Nelson sale by means of a fund contributed by Mrs. Louis Pennington. (1909, 1914.)

*Princeton Historical Association*.—E. C. Richardson, University Library. (1911-12.)

*Salem County Historical Society*.—George W. Price, Salem. The society has a membership of 78 and has a room containing 875 volumes and about 350 manuscripts. It has received a collection of china and curios consisting of about 400 pieces. (1911-1914.)

*Somerset County Historical Society*.—John F. Reger, Somerville. (1912.)

*Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society*.—Frank D. Andrews. (1909-1914.)

## NEW YORK.

*Buffalo Historical Society*.—Frank H. Severance, Historical Building. The society has a membership of 700; a building (\$250,000), with lecture hall, reference library, and museum. It has published Volume XVIII of "Publications" and Volume XIX in press. It receives \$100 a year from the State education department. (1909, 1911-1914.)

*Chautauqua Society of History and Natural Science*.—Abner Hazeltine, Jamestown. (1911.)

*City History Club of New York*.—Mrs. Carr Van Anda, 105 West Fortieth Street, room 709. The society has 250 supporting and 1,200 student members. It has published "Historical Guide to the City of New York," and many separate leaflets and handbooks. It possesses about 3,000 lantern slides, scrap-books, and a small reference library; has established lecture courses, a local guide bureau, and has about 45 clubs studying local history and civics under its direction. (1909.)

*Herkimer County Historical Society*.—Arthur T. Smith, Herkimer. (1910.)

*Holland Society of New York*.—Edward Van Winkle, 90 West Street, New York. (1912, 1913.)

*Johnstown Historical Society*.—A. M. Young. (1911, 1913.)

*Livingston County Historical Society*.—William A. Brodie, Geneseo. (1909, 1912.)

*Long Island Historical Society.*—Cyrill H. Burdett, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn. The society has a membership of 484 and \$179,850, and owns its building. It has published 4 volumes of "Memoirs" and 3 volumes of "Town Records"; has a library of 81,762 volumes.

*Montgomery County Historical Society.*—Charles E. French, Amsterdam. The society has about 200 members and a \$10,000 endowment. It owns the Sir William Johnson House at Fort Johnson, with Indian relics and furniture. It publishes "Proceedings" about twice a year. (1910, 1911, 1914.)

*New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.*—Henry Russell Drowne, 226 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York City. The society has 604 members and property amounting to \$154,000. It has a library of 10,000 bound volumes and 6,000 pamphlets and manuscripts. It has published 46 volumes of "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record" and 6 volumes of "Collections." It is now copying the old State church records, one copy of which is to go to the Library of Congress, one to the New York State Library, one to the New York Historical Society, and one to be retained by the society. (1911.)

*New York Historical Society.*—Robert H. Kilby, 170 Central Park West, New York City. The society has 873 members and an income of about \$35,000 annually. It owns a modern fireproof building for library and museum purposes. It published in 1915 "Illustrated Catalogue of the Art Gallery." The Schuyler family silver and the Bayard and Schuyler family portraits were obtained by the society in 1915. A rectigraph photographing machine has been purchased. (1912, 1914.)

*New York State Historical Association.*—Fred B. Richards, Notre Dame Street, Glens Falls. The society has about 1,000 members and receipts from dues amounting to about \$1,897.59. It published in 1914 "Proceedings," Volume XIII. It is the custodian of the Bennington battle field, of Lake George Battle Ground Park, and of Crown Point Reservation, and receives a State appropriation for these parks. (1910-1914.)

*Oneida Historical Society.*—William M. Storrs, Park Avenue and Elizabeth Street, Utica. (1912, 1913.)

*Onondaga Historical Association.*—Franklin H. Chase, 311 Montgomery Street, Syracuse. (1911, 1913, 1914.)

*The Pennsylvania Society.*—Barr Ferree, 249 West Thirteenth Street, New York. The society has a membership of 1,400, and has published "Yearbook for 1915" and "William Uhler Hensel, an Appreciation," by Barr Ferree. (1909, 1910, 1913.)

*Schenectady County Historical Society.*—Delancey W. Watkins, Schenectady. (1909, 1911, 1912.)

*Society of Pennsylvania Women in New York.*—Mrs. William Harrison Brown, 249 West Thirteenth Street, New York. Has membership of 250 and has issued "Manual, 1915."

*Suffolk County Historical Society.*—Ruth H. Tuthill, Riverhead. (1912.)

*Waterloo Literary and Historical Society.*—Rev. Henry E. Hibbard, Waterloo. (1909, 1911.)

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

*Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina.*—R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh. The society has 412 members; the dues are \$1. "Proceedings" published by North Carolina Historical Commission. (1909, 1913.)

*North Carolina Historical Commission.*—R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh. The commission receives from the State \$11,000 annually for maintenance and \$5,000 biennially for printing. (1913.)

*North Carolina Historical Society.*—C. E. McIntosh, Chapel Hill. (1909.)

*Trinity College Historical Society.*—C. R. Davis, Durham. (1909, 1912.)

## NORTH DAKOTA.

*State Historical Society of North Dakota* (Bismarck).—O. G. Libby, Grand Forks. (1910.)

## OHIO.

*Firelands Historical Society*.—A. Sheldon, Norwalk. (1909.)

*Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*.—Charles T. Greve, Station E, Cincinnati. The society has 93 members, has funds of \$75,720, publishes "Quarterly," and has 26,503 books. (1910, 1911, 1912, 1914.)

*Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society*.—Anna Stokes, Zanesville. (1910, 1914.)

*Old Northwest Genealogical Society*.—H. Warren Phelps, Memorial Hall, Columbus. (1909, 1910, 1913.)

*Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association*.—Basil Meek, Fremont. The society receives \$100 from the county annually in addition to membership dues. It publishes an annual "Yearbook." (1909-1914.)

*Western Reserve Historical Society*.—W. H. Cathcart, Euclid Avenue and Fairmont Street, Cleveland. (1911, 1914.)

## OKLAHOMA.

*Oklahoma Historical Society*.—Frank D. Northup, secretary, Oklahoma City; W. P. Campbell, custodian. The society receives \$6,000 from the State, for which it is trustee. It publishes "Historia," a quarterly. It possesses 1,600 books, 75 manuscripts, 400 museum objects, and 860 miscellaneous.

## OREGON.

*Oregon Historical Society*.—Prof. F. G. Young, secretary, Eugene; George H. Himes, curator and assistant secretary, Portland. The society has a membership of 525, receives \$6,000 annually from the State, \$6,000 by bequest, and \$850 from dues and the sale of publications. It publishes a "Quarterly"; owns 13,638 books, 17,507 pamphlets, 26,350 manuscripts, 3,714 museum objects, and 177,935 newspapers. All property is held in trust for the State. (1909-1911, 1913.)

## PENNSYLVANIA.

*American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*.—Jane Campbell, 715 Spruce Street. (1914.)

*Bucks County Historical Society*.—C. D. Hotchkiss, Doylestown. (1910, 1911, 1914.)

*The Church Historical Society*.—William Ives Rutter, jr., 525 South Forty-first Street, Philadelphia. (1913.)

*Delaware County Historical Society*.—Charles Palmer, Chester, Pa. The society, of 113 members, has a small library. (1910-1912, 1914.)

*Erie County Historical Society*.—John Miller, 27 Pennsylvania Building, Erie. (1911.)

*Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*.—James Emlen, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. The society has a membership of 291, \$6,507.62, owns 314 manuscripts, and issues an annual publication. (1913, 1914.)

*German-American Historical Society*.—E. M. Fogel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. (1911.)

*Hamilton Library Association of Carlisle*.—William E. Miller. (1912.)

*Historical Society of Berks County*.—William Fegley, 529 Court Street, Reading. The society has a membership of 265, invested funds amounting to \$1,300, and receives \$200 from the county. It owns its building and 3,350 books and 520 manuscripts. In 1915 marked 12 historic buildings and sites, and is planning more for 1916. (1912, 1913, 1914.)

- Historical Society of Bradford County.*—J. Andrew Wilt, Towanda. The society has 100 members. It receives \$200 from the county, and has a fireproof building furnished by the county. It publishes an "Annual." (1910, 1913, 1914.)
- Historical Society of Dauphin County.*—Mrs. Lila A. Peay, Harrisburg. (1909.)
- Historical Society of Frankford.*—Caroline W. Smedley, 4510 Frankford Avenue, Philadelphia. The society has 305 members. It publishes an annual report, possesses 450 books, some pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts. Has established a committee on historical landmarks, and maintains a Tuesday evening "at home." (1910, 1914.)
- Historical Society of Montgomery County.*—Mrs. A. C. Jones, Historical Hall, 18 Penn Street, Norristown. (1911-1914.)
- Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*—John W. Jordan, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. The society has a membership of 2,200, \$261,000 fund, and a fireproof building. It has published 14 volumes "Memoirs"; 39 volumes, "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography." (1909-1912, 1914.)
- Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.*—Burd Shippen Patterson, Grant and Parkman Boulevards, Pittsburgh. (1910, 1912, 1914.)
- Lancaster County Historical Society.*—C. B. Hollinger, care The New Era, Lancaster. The society has a membership of 325 and receives \$200 from the county. "Publications," Volume XIX, was issued in 1915. It possesses 2,709 books; has placed tablet at Hotel Brunswick, interesting on account of visits by Lincoln, Buchanan, Greeley, Hancock, and Roosevelt, and has placed boulder with bronze tablet in Conestoga Township, where first courts of justice for the county were held in 1729. (1911-1914.)
- Lebanon County Historical Society.*—S. P. Heilman, Hathaway Park, Lebanon. The society has 220 members, receives a county appropriation of \$200, and about \$250 from membership dues and sale of publications. It has issued Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13 of "Publications," and has about 5,000 books, etc. It has in preparation a program commemorating Gen. Philip de Haas. (1910-1914.)
- Lehigh County Historical Society.*—Charles R. Roberts, 520 North Sixth Street, Allentown. There are 175 members. Income received from membership dues and county appropriation of \$200. It has issued "Publications," Volumes 1 and 2, and authorized "History of Lehigh County," edited by Roberts, 3 volumes, 1915. It has started a movement for restoration of Trout Hall, built in 1770, by the son of the founder of Allentown, which is to be the home of the society. (1911-1912.)
- Moravian Historical Society.*—F. H. Martin, Nazareth. (1912-13.)
- Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society.*—David Bachman, Easton. The society has 110 members and cash funds of \$400.
- Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.*—John W. Townsend, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. (1912.)
- Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.*—S. P. Heilman, Hathaway Park, Lebanon. Has membership of 42 societies. Income derived from membership dues and appropriation of \$250 from the State. One meeting is held each year and "Acts and Proceedings" of the tenth annual meeting (Jan. 21, 1915) has been issued. Has assumed an advisory attitude to the State's historical commission on site marking, entablature, etc. (1909-1914.)
- Pennsylvania-German Society.*—D. W. Nead, box 468, Reading. (1909, 1911, 1912.)
- Pennsylvania History Club.*—Albert E. McKinley, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. (1909, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1914.)
- Site and Relic Society of Germantown.*—Horace M. Lippincott, Museum, Vernon Park, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. (1910, 1911, 1912, 1914.)



*Snyder County Historical Society*.—William M. Schuure, Selinsgrove. (1910, 1912, 1914.)

*Susquehanna County Historical Society*.—C. F. Pross, Mortrose. (1911.)

*Washington County Historical Society*.—Mrs. Helen C. Beatty, Washington. (1911-12.)

*Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*.—Horace E. Hayden, Wilkes-Barre. (1910, 1911, 1913, 1914.)

#### RHODE ISLAND.

*Bristol County Historical Society*.—Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle Avenue, Providence.

*Newport Historical Society*.—John P. Sanborn, Newport. The society has membership of 433, receives an annual appropriation of \$1,000 from the State, and publishes quarterly "Bulletin." (1912-1914.)

*Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association*.—Mrs. C. A. P. Weeden, 578 Smith Street, Providence. The society has a membership of 255 and funds of \$500. (1910-1912.)

*Rhode Island Historical Society*.—Frank Green Bates, 63 Waterman Street, Providence. (1911-1914.)

#### SOUTH CAROLINA.

*South Carolina Historical Society*.—Mabel S. Webber, Charleston. It has 230 members; the dues are \$4. It possesses 3,000 books, 2,000 pamphlets, and some valuable manuscripts. It has published 5 volumes of "Collections" and 16 volumes of "South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine." (1912-13.)

#### SOUTH DAKOTA.

*South Dakota State Historical Society*.—Doane Robinson, Pierre. The society has 101 life members, receives an appropriation from the State, and is housed in the State capitol. It publishes "Collections," issued biennially, and "Annual Review of Progress of South Dakota." It is custodian of the State library. Board composed of the governor, the secretary of state, the state auditor, and 11 members elected by the society. (1913, 1914.)

#### TENNESSEE.

*Tennessee Historical Society*.—Robert Ewing, Carnegie Library, Nashville, Tenn.

#### TEXAS.

*Texas Library and Historical Commission*.—Ernest W. Winkler, State Library, Austin. (1913.)

*Texas State Historical Association*.—Charles W. Ramsdell, Austin. The membership is 750; the annual dues are \$2. The society has a fund of \$3,000. It is housed in the University of Texas, and publishes "Southwestern Historical Quarterly." (1910, 1911.)

#### UTAH.

*Utah State Historical Society*.—J. R. Letcher, Salt Lake City. (1914.)

#### VERMONT.

*Vermont Historical Society*.—Montpelier. (1910.)

## VIRGINIA.

*Virginia Historical Society*.—W. G. Stanard, 707 East Franklin Street, Richmond. Income derived from dues, sales of magazine, and endowment fund of \$12,500. The society owns brick building, which was formerly the residence of Gen. Robert E. Lee. It possesses a collection of books and manuscripts. (1909-1914.)

## WASHINGTON.

*Washington State Historical Society*.—W. P. Bonner, Tacoma. There are 75 life members and 160 annual members; the life-membership dues are \$25 and the annual dues are \$2. A biennial appropriation of \$12,000 is received from the State. The society has issued "Publications," Volume 1 (1906) and Volume 2 (1915). It is housed in its own building. (1914.)

## WISCONSIN.

*Green Bay Historical Society*.—Miss Nannie E. Kelleher, Green Bay. (1909.)  
*Manitowoc County Historical Society*.—R. G. Plumb, Manitowoc. The society has 35 members and holds occasional meetings. (1909, 1910, 1912, 1913.)

*Ripon Historical Society*.—Samuel M. Pedrick, Ripon. (1911.)

*Sauk County Historical Society*.—H. K. Page, Baraboo. The society has 75 members. (1911, 1913, 1914.)

*Walworth County Historical Society*.—John H. Snyder, jr., Elkhorn. (1911, 1913.)

*Waukesha County Historical Society*.—Julia A. Lapham, Oconomowoc. There are 162 active and 10 honorary members. The dues are 50 cents. The society is housed in a room at the courthouse and has a collection of 2,400 books, pictures, documents, etc. (1913, 1914.)

*Wisconsin Archeological Society*.—Charles Edward Brown, Madison. (1910-1914.)

*Wisconsin Archaeological Society*.—Charles Edward Brown, Madison. (1910-700 life and annual members. It has \$100,000 in invested funds; receives annually, through taxation, \$58,980; and owns building, which has cost \$780,000. The publications are "Collections," 21 volumes issued and 3 volumes in preparation, and "Proceedings," issued annually. It possesses 386,000 books and also manuscripts and museum objects. Property is held in trust for State. (1909-1914.)

## WYOMING.

*Wyoming Historical Society*.—Frances A. Davis, Cheyenne. Funds, \$500. (1914.)

## NATIONAL OR SECTIONAL.

*American Baptist Historical Society*.—Rev. John W. Lyell, 1701 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Annual report of 1915 issued as part of "Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention." Has published "Sketch of the Life of Rev. William Shadrach, D. D.," by Rev. J. T. Griffith. Has completed arrangement of over 25,000 minutes of Baptist State conventions and district associations. (1913, 1914.)

*American Jewish Historical Society*.—Albert M. Friedenberg, 38 Park Row, New York. There are 387 members, and No. 23 of "Publications" has been issued. (1909-1914.)

*American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society*.—Edward H. Hall, 27 William Street, New York. (1911.)

*Confederate Memorial Literary Society*.—Mrs. J. E. Robinson, Twelfth and Clay Streets, Richmond, Va. (1914.)

*Mississippi Valley Historical Association*.—Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln, Nebr. There are 1,291 members, and income is derived from dues and sales of publications. The society has published eight volumes of "Proceedings" and two volumes of "Mississippi Valley Historical Review." It is planning to erect, in the Mississippi Valley, a La Salle monument. (1913, 1914.)

*Missouri Valley Historical Society*.—Mrs. Nettie Thompson Grove, Kansas City, Mo. (1910, 1912, 1913, 1914.)

*National Historical Society*.—M. T. R. Washburn, 30 East Forty-second Street, New York. Incorporated by act of Congress, April 26, 1915. The society publishes "Journal of American History."

*National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution*.—Mrs. Delos A. Blodgett, Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C. (1909, 1912.)

*Naval History Society*.—Robert W. Neeser, 247 Fifth Avenue, New York. The society has a membership of about 60, and it issues annually "Publications." It has 3,500 volumes, manuscripts, and prints.

*Presbyterian Historical Society*.—Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, 520 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia. There is a membership of 311 and funds of \$12,000. "The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society" is issued quarterly. There are 20,000 volumes, a large and valuable collection of church records, autograph letters, etc. (1909-1914.)

*Scottish Historical Society of North America*.—John Calder Gordon, 17 Milk Street, Boston. (1912.)

*Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, National Society*.—Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle Avenue, Providence, R. I. Membership, 971.

*Swedish Historical Society of America*.—F. N. Andrén, Insurance Building, Chicago. (1909, 1910, 1912, 1914.)

*United Confederate Veterans*.—Gen. W. E. Mickle, New Orleans, La. The society has a membership of about 50,000 and publishes "Minutes."

#### CANADA.

*Brome County Historical Society*.—Rev. E. M. Taylor, Knowlton, Province of Quebec. The society has 50 members, \$700 in funds, and a fireproof building containing about 400 volumes and 400 museum objects. It has published "History of Brome County" and two volumes of "Transactions."

*Champlain Society*.—George M. Wrong, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario. (1911-1914.)

*Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute*.—W. W. Olmstead, 42 Southwick Street, St. Thomas, Ontario. Membership, 150. The society has on hand \$377 and receives an annual grant of \$100 from the provincial legislature. It is housed in the courthouse and has a collection of books, transcripts, and museum objects. It has published "Historical Sketches of the County of Elgin," "The Courthouses of a Century," "Celebration of the Centenary of the Talbot Settlement," and "Records and Reminiscences of Elgin Pioneers." The society is affiliated with the Ontario Historical Society and the Royal Historical Society of Canada. (1911.)

*Essex Historical Society*.—Andrew Baird, Windsor, Ontario. The society has 71 members and received a small annual grant from the Ontario Provincial Government. It has published two small volumes of "Papers and Collections." It is affiliated with the Ontario Historical Society.

*Huron Institute*.—David Williams, Collingwood, Ontario. (1910, 1911, 1913, 1914.)

*Kingston Historical Society*.—W. L. Grant, Kingston, Ontario. (1912.)

*London and Middlesex Historical Society*.—Rev. G. M. Cox, 746 Waterloo Street, London, Ontario. (1910.)

*Niagara Historical Society*.—John Eckersley, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario. (1909, 1914.)

*Nova Scotia Historical Society*.—Harry Peers, Halifax, Nova Scotia. (1911–1913.)

*Ontario Historical Society*.—A. F. Hunter, Normal School Building, Toronto. Membership, 505; receipts, 1914 and 1915, \$1,410; and the society also receives an annual grant from the Government of Ontario. It has published "Annual Report," Volume XIII, and "Papers and Records." It is housed in the normal school building, where it has a collection of 1,250 volumes and 2,830 pamphlets.

*Société Historique de Montréal*.—Napoleon Brisebois, École Normale Jacques-Cartier, Montreal, Province of Quebec. (1910, 1914.)

*Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*.—Mrs. Braddish Billings, Killarney Apartments, Ottawa. The society has a membership of 166 and derives its income from a Government grant, fees, and sales of "Transactions." (1909–1914.)

## APPENDIX II.

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There were present about 85 people, a few of whom were delegates with credentials and some were delegates who did not present credentials. Most of those present were members of historical societies, others were interested visitors. Several went out before the roll was made up. There were numerous delegates appointed by letter who were not present at the conference, so their names are not included. Among those present were:

Frank H. Allaben, president and delegate, the National Historical Society.

C. H. Ambler, Randolph-Macon College.

Charles M. Andrews, Yale University.

Arthur Arrington, Greensboro, N. C.

A. W. Barber, United States General Land Office.

Job Barnard, vice president of the Columbia Historical Society, D. C.

George W. Benton, editor, American Book Co., New York.

Mrs. Marie L. Bottineau-Baldwin, Society of American Indians, American Anthropological Association.

Solon J. Buck, delegate, Minnesota Historical Society.

R. S. Catherill, Filson Club, of Louisville, Ky.

A. Howard Clark, delegate, California Genealogical Society.

Dan E. Clark, assistant editor, State Historical Society of Iowa.

Christopher B. Coleman, corresponding secretary, Indiana Historical Society.

William E. Connelley, delegate, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society.

Rev. Robert Brent Drane, D. D., Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, Edenton, N. C.

Mrs. A. G. Draper, Washington, New England Genealogical and Historical Association, New Hampshire Historical Society.

Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, Columbia Historical Society, Washington.

Clara Francis, librarian, Kansas State Historical Society.

Frank M. Gregg, Cleveland.

Rev. Dr. Guilday, Catholic University, American Catholic History Society of Philadelphia, Maryland Historical Society.

W. T. H. Howe, Cincinnati, American Book Co.

Miss Margaret Huddleson, Fruit History Investigations, Department of Agriculture.

J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution.

Herbert A. Keller, McCormick Historical Association.

Waldo Lincoln, president, American Antiquarian Society.

John H. Logan, delegate, New Brunswick (New Jersey) Historical Club.

Charles Moore, secretary, Michigan Historical Commission.

Rt. Rev. Frank A. O'Brien, Michigan Historical Commission.

Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York City.

Theodore C. Pease, Illinois State Historical Society.

L. Bradford Prince, Historical Society of New Mexico.

C. H. Rammelkamp, Illinois State Historical Society.

A. M. Schlesinger, delegate, Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.  
Frank H. Severance, Buffalo Historical Society.

Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent, State Historical Society of Iowa.  
Augustus H. Shearer, Newberry Library, secretary of the conference.

St. George L. Sioussat, corresponding secretary, Tennessee Historical Society.

Charles W. Spencer, Princeton University, New York State Historical Association.

Bernard Steiner, Maryland Historical Society.

E. Raymond Turner, University of Michigan.

Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, Philadelphia, Pa., Presbyterian Historical Society.

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XV. SIXTEENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.  
WITH APPENDIXES.

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DECEMBER 29, 1915.

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VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,  
*Chairman, 476 Fifth Avenue, New York City.*  
CLARENCE W. ALVORD,  
*University of Illinois.*  
CHARLES M. ANDREWS,  
*Yale University.*  
SOLON J. BUCK,  
*Minnesota Historical Society.*  
GEORGE S. GODARD,  
*Connecticut State Library.*  
THOMAS M. OWEN,  
*Alabama Department of Archives and History.*  
A. S. SALLEY, JR.,  
*South Carolina Historical Commission.*





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## REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 29, 1915.

*To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:*

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association has the honor to submit a report of its work during the year 1915 and plans for its future activity.

The commission's report for 1913 was delivered for press in June, 1914, and was distributed in the autumn of 1915. The report for 1914 was finished and sent to the secretary of the association in September, 1915.

It is with pleasure that the commission finds itself able to report that it has at last succeeded in procuring reports on the public archives of the States of California and Vermont. In the report of 1913 the commission reported the status quo of the California report, left unfinished by the death of Prof. H. W. Edwards, of Berkeley. The succeeding years unfortunately put much of his material out of date, and when the commission secured the consent of Mr. Edwin L. Head, keeper of the State archives, at Sacramento, to complete this report, it was believed that the data of Prof. Edwards could be checked up and used substantially as left by him, but it was found that this could not be done. The California report is, therefore, credited to Mr. Head as his work *de novo*, yet with respectful tribute to the late Prof. Edwards for the work that he did and the standard that he set. Mr. Head's report forms Appendix A. Its inclusion in the commission's report of 1915 is fortunate, signaling as it does appropriately the State in which the international exposition of this year was held. The materials for the report on the public archives of the State of Vermont were secured mainly by field work undertaken for the commission during the summer of 1915 by Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, of Chicago. He subsequently invoked the aid of public officials by correspondence and rounded out his report, which forms Appendix B. In pursuance of the general practice the commission named Mr. Head and Dr. Shearer adjunct members of the commission for the year 1915.

In the spring of 1915 it was arranged between the program committee of the American Historical Association and the Public Archives Commission that if possible a meeting should be held under the auspices of the Public Archives Commission in Washington

during the meetings of the American Historical Association to further the interests of the building for the national archives. It was decided that this meeting should be made if possible a joint meeting of the economic, historical, and political science associations, and of as many other associations or societies meeting in Washington during the last week of December, 1915, as possible. In order to emphasize the cooperative features of this meeting it was decided to place the organization of it in charge of a committee of representatives of the three associations above named, and, after correspondence between the secretaries of these bodies, the following joint committee was appointed:

For the American Historical Association, Victor Hugo Paltsits, chairman of the Public Archives Commission.

For the American Economic Association, George A. Plimpton, Esq.

For the American Political Science Association, Prof. Charles A. Beard.

This joint committee held a meeting in the New York Public Library on November 3, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association, who was present by invitation, was asked to act as secretary to the joint committee, because the details of the program could be better carried out in Washington, where he had unusual facilities. Mr. Paltsits served as chairman of the joint committee. A tentative program was mapped out and its execution was intrusted to the chairman and secretary, who after many exchanges completed the work. The burden thereof fell heavily upon Mr. Leland. He secured the capacious auditorium of Continental Memorial Hall and provided the numerous lantern slides that were to be shown by those who had illustrated talks. He also took charge of the publicity features with good results.

The joint session was held and, notwithstanding it rained, over 400 persons were present. A summary of this meeting follows:

The American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and other national societies held a meeting in Continental Memorial Hall, on Tuesday afternoon, December 28, in the interest of the proposed building for the national archives.

The meeting was presided over by Senator Miles Poindexter, of the State of Washington, who, in his introductory remarks, spoke strongly of the great need for a proper building in which to house the records of the Government.

Prof. Frank W. Taussig, the economist, of Harvard University, spoke of the value of the governmental records to the study of history, economics, and politics. He was followed by Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Library of Congress, who dwelt upon the value of its records to the Government itself. He pointed out that without a

proper arrangement, classification, and housing of records it was impossible to carry on the work of the Government rapidly and efficiently. He also pointed out what great financial loss to the Government might be incurred through the destruction of its records.

The next speaker was Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of the University of Iowa, who described what the various States of the American Union have done for their archives. He pointed out that in such States, especially as Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Iowa, etc., the States have far outdistanced the National Government in this important matter. He showed pictures of conditions in many of the State archives, especially remarkable among these being the buildings for the State archives at Raleigh, N. C.; at Des Moines, Iowa; at Topeka, Kans.; and at Hartford, Conn. One of the interesting features of Prof. Shambaugh's paper was a description of the method of record keeping employed by various corporations. He showed several pictures of a model archive house built by the Canadian Bank of Commerce and also gave views of the file rooms of the New York Life Insurance Co. and of the record storage house of the Provident Life & Trust Co., of Philadelphia.

Prof. Shambaugh was followed by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association, who showed some 30 or more views of foreign archive houses, especially those in London, Paris, and in certain cities of Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, and Germany. He emphasized the fact that almost all European countries are far ahead of the United States in the matter of caring for their records, some of the best administered archives being those of the Dutch towns and provinces.

Perhaps the most striking part of the program was an illustrated talk by Mr. Leo F. Stock, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, who showed 25 or 30 pictures of present conditions in the Federal archives. In some places he showed valuable records next to steam pipes or water pipes, showed pictures taken in attics of Federal buildings and in cellars. There were pictures of rented quarters and of public corridors in the Government buildings where the departments have been forced to store their records.

After it had thus been shown how far behind the National Government is, not only of foreign countries but of many American States and of private corporations, Mr. Louis A. Simon, of the Supervising Architect's Office, presented a number of studies which have been prepared under his supervision for the proposed national archive building. Many of these studies were exceedingly interesting, and some were very ingenious. If Congress makes the necessary appropriation for carrying out the architect's plan there is no reason why the United States should not have the best archive building in the world—a building fitting not only of its past but of its future.

At the close of the meeting the following resolutions were presented by the chairman of the public archives commission:

Whereas the records and papers of the United States Government contain an inexhaustible and priceless body of information for the statesman, the administrator, the historian, and the reading public; and

Whereas these papers are now scattered through many repositories in Washington and 'out of Washington, housed often at great expense for rental in unsafe and unsuitable buildings, exposed to danger from fire, and difficult of access; and

Whereas the only true remedy lies in the construction of a suitable national archive building, in which these papers and records can be arranged systematically, found with rapidity, and consulted with ease:

*Resolved*, That we, members of the American Economic Association, of the American Historical Association, of the American Political Science Association, of the American Sociological Society, of the Naval History Society, and other societies in general meeting assembled under the auspices of the public archives commission, do cordially approve of the efforts which have been made toward the erection of a national archive building in the city of Washington and respectfully urge upon Congress the passage of appropriations for the speedy construction of a suitable building in which to concentrate and properly care for the muniments of the American people.

The legislatures of 46 States held regular sessions during the year 1915 and one (Virginia) sat in extra session. An examination of the printed session laws of these States, except for the two States of Arizona and Oklahoma, which were not available in May, 1916, when the commission's report was prepared, has revealed a considerable amount of legislation pertaining to archives and history. The following summary represents the legislation in 18 States; but, in addition thereto, in many of the States appropriations were made for the care of archives, for historical publication funds, and for the use of historical societies.

#### ALABAMA.

An account of the work done by the department of archives and history of Alabama was presented by Gov. Emmet O'Neal in his message to the legislature (General Laws, 1915, pp. cxlii-cxlv). He said:

The following is a grouping of the subjects comprising its activities: Archives, historical and reference library, gallery, museum, library extension, anthropology and natural history, and a research, extension and reference service.

He concluded:

The department of archives and history should be further encouraged in its praiseworthy work and should be given enlarged opportunity. Its needs are imperative. More space should be provided for its rich collections and for the proper discharge of its multifarious activities. If the people of the State would only make use of its wonderful resources they would be daily richer thereby. In every line of activity committed to it the department deserves all that a generous and sympathetic legislature can do in its behalf.

A joint resolution of the legislature (General Laws, 1915, p. 917) was adopted on September 25, commending the work of the department and tendering "to the director, Dr. Thomas M. Owen, and to the entire staff of the department, grateful acknowledgment and appreciation of their very acceptable service, their unfailing courtesy, and the zeal, intelligence, and enthusiasm with which they perform their duties."

The legislation of this State during the session of 1915 included several acts pertaining to archives and history, of which the principal were the following:

An act to require the accurate keeping and safe preservation of all books, papers, and documents of public officers and servants, and to provide the punishment for failure to comply with the terms of this act.

*Be it enacted by the Legislature of Alabama:* 1. That it is hereby made the duty of all public officers and servants to correctly make and accurately keep in and for their respective offices or places of business all such books, or sets of books, documents, files, papers, letters, and copies of letters, as at all times to afford full and detailed information in reference to the activities or business required to be done or carried on by such officer or servant, and from which the actual status and condition of such activities and business can be ascertained without extraneous information; and all the books, documents, files, papers, letters, and copies of letters so made and kept, shall be carefully protected and safely preserved, and guarded from mutilation, loss, or destruction.

2. That the books, documents, and files shall be uniform in size and general style of make-up and binding throughout the several State offices and departments, and in their manufacture the best grades of paper, inks, and binding shall be employed; and only papers, inks, typewriter ribbons, carbon papers, and ink pads of a permanent and nondestructible character shall be used in any of such offices or departments. In contracting for the record books, letter-heads, or other writing papers, follow sheets, inks, typewriter ribbons, carbon papers, and stamp pads, the secretary of state or other officer, officers or agents charged with the selection or purchase thereof are hereby directed to require substantial uniformity as above provided and to select only such books or other materials as conform to the requirements herein specified, to the end that all State, county, and institutional records may be lasting and permanent.

3. That it is hereby made the duty of all public officers and servants of the State whenever any book, paper, or document pertaining to the affairs, business, or transactions of their office has ceased to be current to deliver the same together with a list of such books, papers, and documents, to the director of the department of archives and history, receiving in return therefor a receipt from such director which shall also contain a list of such books, papers, and documents; and that all such books, papers, and documents of officers and servants of counties and cities shall be, when they cease to be current, in like manner delivered to the probate judge of such county, and to the mayor, president of the city commission or other executive officer of the city, and in like manner such officer to whom such books, papers, and documents are delivered shall give his receipt therefor.

4. That all public officers and servants of this State are hereby required to turn over to their successor in office, together with a list thereof, all current books, papers, and documents pertaining to the business, affairs, or transactions

of their office, taking a receipt therefor, which said receipt shall also contain a list of all such books, papers, and documents.

5. That it is hereby made a misdemeanor for any public officer or servant to violate or fail to comply with any of the provisions of this act, and any such person violating any of the provisions of this act may, upon conviction, be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, and may also be sentenced to hard labor for the county for not exceeding six months, at the discretion of the court or jury trying the case.

6. That any officer or servant violating any of the provisions of this act, if such violation is of such a nature as to render it impossible or impracticable to ascertain the correct status of the business, affairs, or finances of his office without extraneous evidence, such a violation shall constitute a felony and, upon conviction therefor, such officers or servant shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary of this State for not less than nor more than 10 years.

7. That a public officer or servant, as used in this act, is intended to and shall include, in addition to the ordinary public offices, departments, commissions, bureaus, and boards of the State, and the public officers and servants of counties, cities, and towns, all persons whatsoever occupying positions in State institutions.

8. That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with any provision of this act are hereby expressly repealed.

(General laws, 1915, No. 237, pp. 287-289; approved Aug. 20, 1915.)

Provision was made in the dentistry law (General Laws, 1915, No. 311, p. 332) for the deposit of "the entire collection of examination papers, including questions and answers, with a separate list of the names of those taking each examination, and the numbers under which the examination was taken, with the Alabama State department of archives and history. The examination papers so filed shall be preserved for five years, and shall at all reasonable office hours be open to examination by any citizens of this State."

An act approved on September 22 (General Laws, 1915, No. 693, p. 745) requires all but private libraries in the State "to make both regular and special reports to the department of archives and history as may be called for, and in accordance with such regulations as may be prescribed by the department."

In creating a board of Confederate pension commissioners in and for the State of Alabama the legislature named the director of archives and history a member of that body. (General Laws, 1915, No. 779, p. 886.) He was also named in a joint resolution, adopted on September 25, a member of a commission "to make an investigation of the subjects of workman's compensation, registration and insurance of land titles, penitentiary and criminal administration, conservation of the natural resources of the State, and such other subjects as to [sic] the commission may appoint." The governor, chief justice of the supreme court, presiding judge of the court of appeals, and the attorney general are the other members of the commission. (General Laws, 1915, p. 944.)



## CALIFORNIA.

A step forward has been taken in California by the creation of a commission to report on the local archives of the State. (Statutes, 1915, ch. 763, p. 1528; approved June 12, 1915, and in effect from Aug. 11.) The full text of the act is as follows:

An act to create a commission for the purpose of making a survey of local historical material in the State of California, defining the power and duties of said commission, and making an appropriation therefor.

*The people of the State of California do enact as follows:*

SECTION 1. There is hereby established a California historical survey commission composed of three members, to be chosen as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. The members of this commission shall be appointed by the governor of the State of California: *Provided*, That only one of the members of said commission shall be nominated by [the] board of regents of the University of California, and that one of the members of said commission shall be nominated by the board of grand officers of the order of Native Sons of the Golden West; all nominations, however, shall be subject to approval by the governor.

SEC. 3. The commissioners first named shall be appointed for terms ending July 1, 1916, and their successors shall be appointed for a term of two years; the said commissioners to serve without salary.

SEC. 4. The purpose of this commission shall be to make a survey of the material on local history within the State of California by investigating documents in local depositories and in the possession of private individuals and other sources of original information on the early history of the State of California and to compile and keep a record of such sources of information.

SEC. 5. This commission shall have power to organize the work of the commission; to appoint such assistants as it shall deem necessary and to fix their compensation; and to spend such other moneys as it may deem advisable, but no expenditure of money by the commission shall exceed the amount appropriated by this act; to make and enforce rules governing this commission and to do such other things as shall be necessary to carry out the provisions and the purpose of this act.

SEC. 6. This commission shall meet at such times and places within the State of California as may be expedient and necessary for the proper performance of its duties, such times and places to be designated and determined by this commission.

SEC. 7. The sum of \$10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended in accordance with law for the purposes of this act.<sup>1</sup>

## CONNECTICUT.

The legislature of this State, during its session of 1915, appropriated \$7,500 for preserving and indexing records in the State library (Special Acts, 1915, pp. 88 and 404), and \$1,000 "for copying,

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the provisions of this act the members of the commission were appointed and completed organization on Oct. 9, 1915. Mr. Owen C. Joy, of Berkeley, was appointed to the position of secretary and archivist and entrusted with the general supervision of the field work of the commission. An advisory committee was also chosen of persons having particular ability and experience in dealing with the materials of California history.

in suitable form for permanent record, the pension records of the Revolutionary soldiers from Connecticut on file in the Pension Building at Washington, and placing the same in proper form in the State library at Hartford." The State librarian was empowered "to appoint a suitable person to perform said service." A sum of \$2,000 for salary and another \$2,000 for expenses were appropriated for the examiner of public records under the State librarian. These sums were given for the two-year period. (*Ibid.*, pp. 353 and 404.)

#### FLORIDA.

An act approved on May 13, 1915 (General Acts and Resolutions, vol. 1, pp. 265-266), provides for the manner of photographing public records by persons, firms, or corporations; prescribes supervision while the photographing is being done; and regulates the fees that may be required for services.

#### ILLINOIS.

The principal legislation in this State relating to the historical interest was the following:

An act to create a commission to acquire, for the use of the State, certain real estate; to sell the buildings and materials now on said premises; and to erect a centennial memorial building thereon and to make an appropriation therefor.

This commission is named "the Centennial Building Commission," and consists of the governor, secretary of state, superintendent of public instruction, chairman of the State art commission, president of the State historical society, and president of the board of trustees of the historical library, and two persons, not more than one of whom shall belong to any one political party, to be appointed by the governor. The commission has full power to acquire for the State the site named in the act, by gift, purchase, condemnation, or otherwise; to dispose of any buildings or materials on the said site and prepare the site by the removal of obstructions. The State appropriated the proceeds from the sale of buildings, etc., on the site, and also the sum of \$125,000, but the availability of the appropriation is made contingent upon the receipt from the citizens of the city of Springfield, "or some one in their behalf," of the sum of \$100,000, to "be placed at the disposal" of the commission. (*Laws, 1915, pp. 35-36; approved June 29, 1915.*)

By a senate joint resolution provision was made for the centennial anniversary in 1918 of the admission of Illinois to statehood. The centennial commission named in the resolution consists of E. J. James, E. B. Greene, and J. W. Garner, of the University

of Illinois, and Jesse Palmer Weber and Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, of the Illinois Historical Society; also five senators and five members of the house of representatives of the forty-ninth general assembly, who are to be appointed by the speaker of the house. (Laws, 1915, pp. 730-731.)

Appropriations voted by the legislature for a special editor at Urbana, for a stenographer at Urbana, and for a historical clerk at Urbana, to carry on editorial work of the Illinois State Historical Library, were vetoed by the governor. (Laws, 1915, p. 220.)

The Illinois State Historical Library has made a notable contribution to the study of county archives, published as Volume XII of its "Collections," and forming Volume III of its "Bibliographical Series." It is entitled "The county archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease." (Springfield, Ill., 1915, 8vo, pp. cxli+730.)

#### INDIANA.

A forward step was taken in this State by the creation of the Indiana Historical Commission by act of the legislature approved March 8, 1915. (Laws, 1915, ch. 109, pp. 455-457.)

Extracts from the act are as follows:

That there is hereby created a commission to consist of nine members, not more than five of whom shall be of the same political party, as follows: The governor, the director of the Indiana historical survey of Indiana University, the director of the department of Indiana history and archives of the State library, and six additional members to be appointed by the governor, one of whom shall be nominated by the Indiana Historical Society; three of the members appointed by the governor shall serve for two years and three for four years. No member of said commission shall receive any compensation for his services, but shall be allowed his actual and necessary traveling and other expenses while attending the meetings of the commission or engaged in its work. Any vacancy occurring shall be filled by appointment by the governor. The commission shall be empowered to employ such clerical and other assistance as may be necessary to carry out their duties.

The remaining sections of the act make provision for the organization of the commission and prescribe its duties. The commission is "to edit and publish, in such form as it may determine, documentary and other materials on the history of the State of Indiana." It is also to "prepare and execute plans for an historical and educational celebration of the centennial of the State"; and "may arrange such exhibits, pageants, and celebrations as it may deem proper to illustrate the epochs in the growth of Indiana; to reveal its past and present resources in each field of activity; to teach the development of industrial, agricultural, and social life and the conservation of natural resources." An appropriation of \$25,000 was made for carrying through the centennial celebration.

## IOWA.

The legislature of 1915 made some alterations in the law relative to the consolidation of the miscellaneous portion of the State library with the historical department (supplemental supplement to the Code of Iowa, 1915, pp. 268-269), of which mention may be made of the following: The care and preservation of the public archives is now solely a function of the curator of the historical department of Iowa, to whom is "given the custody of all the original public documents, papers, letters, records, and other official manuscripts of the State executive and administrative departments, offices or officers, councils, boards, bureaus, and commissions, 10 years after the date or current use of such public documents, papers, letters, records, or other official manuscripts." The curator of the historical department is authorized to receive the archives and put them in order. The executive council provides receiving rooms in the Historical, Memorial, and Art Building, and these quarters are named "the division of public archives."

## KANSAS.

The Kansas Legislature enacted the following law:

An act relating to official records.

*Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas: SECTION 1.* Wherever the statutes require court records, deeds, patents, plats, charters of corporations, certificates of decrease of capital stock, or other instruments, papers, or documents, to be recorded by any city, county, or State officer, the making of photographic copies of such instruments, papers, or documents shall be deemed recording. Such photographic copies may be bound, paged, and indexed wherever it is so provided for instruments, papers, or documents recorded by hand, and such photographic copies when bound together shall be deemed record books. This act shall be supplemental to existing statute. (Session Laws, 1915, ch. 286, p. 370; approved Mar. 24, 1915.)

## MICHIGAN.

Sections 8 and 10 of the act of 1913, which created the Michigan historical commission, have been amended (Public Acts, 1915, No. 222, pp. 375-376) as follows:

SEC. 8. The secretary of said commission shall be the editor of all publications issued by the commission, acting under the direction of the commission and shall receive a salary not exceeding eighteen hundred dollars per annum. The commission shall have power to appoint a curator of the museum at a salary of not exceeding one thousand dollars per annum, who shall have such additional duties as may be prescribed by the commission. The commission shall also have power to appoint an archivist and assistant editors of said publications, and such clerical assistants as may be required, but the expenses of such archivist, editors, and assistants, including necessary traveling expenses of secretary or other employees, shall not at any time exceed six thousand dollars per annum. The salary of the secretary, archivist, editors, curator, and clerical assistants shall be paid monthly from any moneys in the

general fund not otherwise appropriated, upon a warrant of the auditor general on the State treasury, approved by the president or vice president of said commission.

SEC. 10. The auditor general shall add to and incorporate in the State tax the sum of six thousand dollars annually, and such amount is hereby appropriated from the general fund of the State to carry out the provisions of this act. Such sum shall be included in the State taxes apportioned by the auditor general on all taxable property of the State, to be levied, assessed, and collected as other State taxes [etc.]. (Approved May 13, 1915.)

#### MINNESOTA.

The law of 1913 relating to the erection of and acquiring of a site for a building "for the use of the Minnesota Historical Society and the supreme court and the State library" was so amended as virtually to dedicate the building to the exclusive uses of the historical society. Section 1 now reads:

The State board of control is hereby authorized, empowered, and directed to erect and complete a fireproof building for and adapted to the use of the Minnesota Historical Society and for the care, preservation, and protection of the State archives: *Provided*, That any part of said building not in use or actually needed for the purposes of said society may be used for other State purposes under the direction of the governor.

The State's appropriation is \$500,000; the site is furnished by the society. (Session Laws, 1915, ch. 143, pp. 201-202; approved Apr. 16, 1915.)

#### NEVADA.

By an act of the legislature (Statutes, 1915, ch. 121, p. 137) the State museum was transferred from the jurisdiction of the superintendent of public instruction to the custody of the Nevada Historical Society in its new brick building.

#### NEW JERSEY.

Provision was made by the legislature (Acts, 1915, ch. 107, p. 167) for the rerecording of obscure records in the surrogates' offices of the State which have become faint or obliterated "and the titles to lands or other property endangered." Another act (*ibid.*, ch. 108, p. 168) validates and confirms any instrument which has been "recorded in the office of any surrogate \* \* \* for a period of three years or more."

#### OREGON.

In an act pertaining to the registration of all births and deaths in the State of Oregon (General Laws, 1915, ch. 268, p. 384) the following provision is made:

SEC. 17. \* \* \* If any cemetery company or association, or any church or historical society or association, or any other company, society, or association,

or any individual is in possession of any record of births or deaths which may be of value in establishing the genealogy of any resident of this State, such company, society, association, or individual may file such record or a duly authenticated transcript thereof with the State registrar, and it shall be the duty of the State registrar to preserve such record or transcript and to make a record and index thereof in such form as to facilitate the finding of any information contained therein. Such record and index shall be open to inspection by the public, subject to such reasonable conditions as the State registrar may prescribe. If any person desires a transcript of any record filed in accordance herewith, the State registrar shall furnish the same upon application, together with a certificate that it is a true copy of such record, as filed in his office, and for his services in so furnishing such transcript and certificate he shall be entitled to a fee of fifty cents per hour or fraction of an hour necessarily consumed in making such transcript and to a fee of twenty-five cents for the certificate, which fees shall be paid by the applicant.

On the disposal of accumulated public documents a house joint resolution, No. 13, prescribes as follows:

*Be it resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:* That the secretary of state be and he is hereby authorized to dispose of accumulating public documents in his office which are now considered, or may hereafter become, obsolete and useless, as hereinafter directed.

To be destroyed: Emolument returns of county clerks, sheriffs, and district attorneys, the law under which these returns were made having been superseded by the "flat salary law" at the 1893 session of the legislative assembly.

To be destroyed: Sundry volumes of State census returns, for the reason that these returns are wholly superficial, and the further fact that the law providing for the taking of the same has been repealed.

To be destroyed: Sundry candidates' petitions, 1906 to 1914, inclusive, being petitions of the candidates to have their names placed on the nominating ballots of the political parties, subject to the primary law, with the exception of those persons whose terms of office have not expired, and that hereafter the secretary of state be authorized and directed to destroy petitions of all candidates after one year from the date of the general election, except the successful nominees, whose petitions shall be preserved during their term of office.

To be destroyed: All copies of assessment rolls of the various counties of the State up to and including the year 1898, these volumes having long since served their purpose.

To be destroyed: All initiative petitions relative to measures which failed of approval by the people, submitted under the initiative and referendum provision of the constitution adopted in the year 1902. That the secretary of state be, and hereby is, authorized to destroy, one year after the general election, petitions of all measures which failed of approval by the people at any general election.

That the secretary of state be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to surrender to the custody of the State library all house and senate journals covering sessions of the legislative assembly held prior to the year 1913, with the exception of 25 copies of each volume which he shall retain, the State library to use the volumes so turned over to it for exchange purposes with other libraries and make such further distribution thereof as the trustees of the State library shall direct.

That the secretary of state shall turn over to the supreme court library, with the exception of 25 copies of each, all of Deady and Lane's Codes and Deady's Codes and the Session Laws, including up to the year 1909, such copies to be used by the supreme court library for exchange purposes and such other distribution as the supreme court may direct.

In the disposal of any or all of the documents herein enumerated the secretary of state is directed to confer with the State printing board, and said board is hereby authorized to sell any or all of the material to be destroyed to any paper mill or other manufacturing concern and to pay into the general fund of the State treasury any sums derived from such sale. (General Laws, 1915, pp. 614-615; filed Feb. 23, 1915.)

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

By an act approved March 31, 1915 (Laws, 1915, No. 19, p. 36), it is "lawful for the councils or council of cities of the first and second class" in the State "to make an annual appropriation from the funds of such city or cities for the support and maintenance of the principal historical society located therein." Any society to receive such appropriation must be incorporated under the State laws, own its own building, keep it open to the public, have a membership of at least 200 persons paying annual dues of at least \$2, hold each year at least six regular meetings that shall be open to the public, and "shall at all times maintain facilities for the free storage, deposit, and inspection of official documents and records of such city or cities, and other proper public or historical archives and records."

The act of May 21, 1901, in regard to encouraging county historical societies, was amended so that in counties having a population of more than 1,000,000 a sum not exceeding \$1,000 annually might be paid "to the chief historical society in said county to assist in paying the running expenses thereof."—Laws, 1915, chap. 20, pp. 36-37; approved March 31, 1915.

The act relating to the division of public records in the State Library has been amended by the addition of the following:

One of the assistants appointed by the librarian shall be supervisor of public records. The supervisor of public records shall examine into the condition of the records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps, and papers kept filed or recorded, or hereafter to be kept filed or recorded, in the several public offices of the counties, cities, and boroughs of the State. He shall recommend such action to be taken by the persons having the care and custody of public records as may be necessary to secure their safety and preservation, and he shall cause all laws relating to the public records to be enforced. He shall submit an annual report to the State librarian, in which he shall present a detailed report upon the number, kind, and condition of the various public records in the custody and under the control of the several counties, cities, and boroughs of the State. This report shall be included by the State librarian in his annual report. (Laws, 1915, chap. 232, p. 529; approved May 14, 1915.)

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

The sections of the Code of Laws of this State (1912, Vol. I, secs. 161, 163, and 166), relating to the Historical Commission of South Carolina, have been amended to read as follows:

SECTION 1. Section 161 of the Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1912, Volume I, Amended—Historical Commission—Creation—Composition. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina*, That section 161 of the Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1912, Volume I, be stricken out and the following inserted in lieu thereof, to become section 161: "A commission is created to be known as the Historical Commission of South Carolina, to be composed of the respective heads of the chairs of history in the University of South Carolina, The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina, Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College of South Carolina, and Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina, and their successors in their respective chairs, and two other members as provided in the amended section hereinafter numbered 163."

SEC. 2. Section 163 of Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1912, Volume I, Amended—Two commissioners—Election—Term of office—Vacancy—Meetings—Organization. That section 163 of the Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1912, Volume I, be stricken out and the following inserted in lieu thereof: "Two members of the said commission shall be elected as follows: One member by the United Confederate Veterans of South Carolina and one by the South Carolina Historical Society, the two members last named to be elected for terms of 10 years each, beginning January 1, 1915, and at the expiration of their terms their successors shall be elected by said organizations for similar terms, and so on at the expiration of every 10 years. In case of vacancy by death or otherwise of either of such elective members the vacancy shall be filled for the unexpired time by that organization which has elected the members so vacating. This commission so constituted shall hold at the office of the commission at least one regular meeting a year, at which they shall elect a chairman, vice chairman, and a secretary, as provided in section 166 hereof, and shall make an annual report of their acts and doings to the general assembly."

SEC. 3. Section 166 of Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1912, Volume I, Amended—Secretary—Term of office—Duties—Compensation. That section 166 of the Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1912, Volume I, be stricken out and the following inserted in lieu thereof: "The said commission is hereby authorized and empowered to select a secretary, who shall not be a member of the commission, and who shall serve at the pleasure of said commission. He shall keep the official books and minutes of the commission and shall devote his time, under the supervision, direction, and control of the commission, to the care and custody of all the documents, material, and property in charge of the commission and the performance of such other duties as the commission may devolve on him, and shall receive for his services such salary as the General Assembly may from time to time provide, payable monthly, to be paid to him by the State treasurer upon the warrant of the comptroller general." (Acts and joint resolutions of the general assembly, 1915, No. 92, pp. 114-115; approved Feb. 18, 1915.)

## UTAH.

An act with respect to the manner of providing records for new counties. (Laws, 1915, ch. 9, pp. 9-10 approved Mar. 5, 1915.) It provides for certified copies "on suitable paper for binding into



permanent records" and the transfer of certain original records, maps, plats, files, and papers. For another act authorizing the recording of certified copies of instruments, the originals of which are of record in another county, and fixing and providing the force and effect of recording such certified copies, see *ibid.*, chapter 68, pages 83-84.

#### WISCONSIN.

The law relative to certified copies of documents, papers, or records used as evidence has been amended to read:

Whenever a certified copy of any document, paper, or record is allowed by law to be evidence, such copy shall be certified by the officer in whose custody the same is required by law to be to have been compared by him with the original, or to be a photographic or photostatic copy of the original, and to be a true copy thereof or a correct transcript therefrom. Such certificate must be under his official seal or under the official seal of the court, public body, or board, in his custody, when he is required by law to have or keep any such seal. (Laws, 1915, ch. 245; approved June 11, 1915.)

Materials toward the preparation of a "Primer of Archival Economy" have been secured for five or six chapters. The actual preparation of the primer may now be left to a small subcommittee of the commission, in cooperation with contributors. The chief obstacle in the way of its completion is the need of a fund for publication.

During the year the chairman cooperated with persons engaged in public archive work, particularly with those who are favoring the movement for a building for the Minnesota Historical Society, in which to care for, preserve, and protect the State archives; with the curator of the historical department of Iowa in regard to the acquisition of archives; and with the keeper of the State archives of California with respect to new equipment and classification. For the future there is the vision of still greater cooperation, so that the number of backward States that need the light may be aided in their search for ways and means. The past four years have seen a phenomenal progress in legislation for archives. New forward steps are being taken by those who value the muniments of the American people, which can not fail to bear results.

Respectfully submitted.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.  
CLARENCE W. ALVORD.  
CHARLES M. ANDREWS.  
SOLON J. BUCK.  
GEORGE S. GODARD.  
THOMAS M. OWEN.  
A. S. SALLEY, Jr.



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APPENDIX A.

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REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

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By EDWIN L. HEAD,  
*Keeper of the Archives in the Department of State, Sacramento, Cal.*



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## THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

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By EDWIN L. HEAD,  
*Keeper of the Archives.*

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### INTRODUCTION.

At the first session of the legislature, held in San Jose, the first act of legislation passed was the adoption of chapter 1, on January 5, 1850, which instructed the secretary of state to receive all public records, maps, and books connected with the political, civil, and military history of the past administrations of the government of California. He was instructed to classify, safely keep, and preserve the same in his office.

On April 9, 1850, at the same session, a joint resolution was adopted, instructing the secretary of state to dispatch some suitable person to Monterey, the former capital of California under Mexican rule, to procure the archives of the State.

San Jose was the capital of the new State in 1850-1851; in this year the legislature changed the capital to Vallejo city; in 1853 the legislature again changed the capital to the city of Benicia. In 1854 the legislature enacted that the capital should be located at Sacramento, where it has since been located.

The changing of the capital from place to place, causing the removal of the records, was the means of many of them being lost or destroyed, which would be of great value at the present time.

In 1858 the legislature passed a concurrent resolution, directing the secretary of state to turn over to James W. Manderville, United States surveyer general, all Spanish and Mexican archives that may be in his possession.

In 1864 the legislature passed a law, authorizing the secretary of state to employ an archive clerk to collate and arrange the archives in his office prior to the year 1860 at a sum not to exceed \$1,000.

At the session of the legislature, 1865-66, an act was approved March 20, 1866, to provide for the preservation of the Spanish archives, title papers of land claims and records relating thereto in the custody of the United States surveyer general for California. The act instructed the secretary of state to cause all the original Spanish papers to be perpetuated, both in the Spanish and English languages, and named Rufus C. Hopkins, keeper of archives in

the office of the United States surveyer General, as the official translator. After a great deal of work he finished his labors. These records are now in our State archives and consist of eight volumes in the Spanish language, eight volumes in the English language, and two volumes of maps. They have been of great value in the establishing of titles to many old Spanish and Mexican grants of land in this State.

To more fully preserve the records in 1875 section 1950 of the Code of Civil Procedure was adopted, which reads as follows:

Records must not be removed from the office where they are kept, except upon the order of a court.

In 1889 the legislature passed a law for the secretary of state to have constructed a moisture-proof, fireproof, and burglar-proof vault for the storage of the State archives, and created the office of keeper of the archives, who shall be a civil executive officer. This vault was finished in 1890 and was really the beginning of the archive department, for previous to this time the records were scattered around in various places with no one to look after them. Many of the records of those days are missing and can never be replaced. This vault is now used to house all of the most valuable records—the State constitution, and all of the original laws, codes, etc.

The archives at the present time are contained in four rooms, two of which are fireproof and two of which are not. They are all greatly overcrowded. The last legislature passed an appropriation of \$3,500 for furnishing an additional room for the archives. This room adjoins the present rooms and will be fireproof—furnished throughout with steel furniture, steel doors, and windows. The room is 20 by 40 feet, and is built of brick, in the basement of the State capitol; walls 3 feet in thickness, with a brick roof and concrete floor.

In this State there is as yet no law which defines what is an archive. Many of the departments retain their records and do not deposit them in the State archives.

The archives of the State are all in good condition and I have endeavored to arrange them with the limited space at my disposal so that they are available to all who desire to use them.

The archives and records of the State government are deposited in many different offices of the various commissions and offices throughout the State. On account of the capitol not being large enough many of the main offices are located in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and in the Forum Building (in Sacramento). In none of these offices are the records placed in fireproof surroundings.



With the exception of the three fireproof vaults in the archives in the State capitol, no other vaults are fireproof, and if a conflagration should take place they might all be destroyed.

In the making of this report I have reported only on the archives and records of the elective offices of the State government which are located in the State capitol at Sacramento.

#### GOVERNOR.

The governor's office is on the first floor of the State capitol and contains three rooms in the southwest corner of the capitol. None but current records are kept in these rooms.

Basement vault: Size, 35 by 35 feet. Concrete floor. Brick walls 3 feet thick. Brick ceiling. Dry. Almost empty. The governor turns over his records to the State archives every four years.

#### SECRETARY OF STATE.

The secretary of state occupies three rooms on the first floor of the capitol, and here only current records are kept.

The duties of the secretary of state are defined by the constitution of the State, which provides that he shall keep a record of the various official papers issued by the governor and requiring his attestation; have charge of the conduct of all State elections, and be the custodian of the archives of the State. All corporation records are also kept in his office.

The records in the custody of this officer are deposited in four vaults, under the immediate care of the "keeper of the archives." One of these vaults is adjacent to the offices of the Secretary of state on the first floor of the capitol and the others are in the basement.

#### FIRST-FLOOR VAULT.

Size, about 10 by 15 feet. Made of brick walls 2 feet thick; plaster walls and ceiling, wood floor, wood filing boxes and shelves, steel combination-lock door. This vault contains about 1,500 filing boxes of current records and others to which frequent reference is necessary. The records consist of:

Articles of incorporation (of "live" corporations), 1871-1916.

Register of trade-marks, 1911-1916.

Certificates of agents of foreign corporations.

Oaths of office, 1880-1916.

Reprieves, pardons, etc., 1916.

Reports of State and county officers, 1911-1916.

Decrees of change of name, 1916.

Miscellaneous documents (current).

#### CONTENTS OF BASEMENT VAULT NO. 1.

Fire and moisture proof; size, about 20 by 30 feet. Brick walls 2 feet thick and lined with steel. Window guarded by iron bars and steel door. Entrance through steel combination-lock door. Floor and shelves all wood. Electric light; steam heat; dry. This vault, the safest in the capitol, contains the most valuable records of the secretary of state's office. Card index for all records in this vault.

*A. Records of controller's office.*

Exact numbers can not always be given, since records are often taken out for use by various officers. Filing boxes will hereafter be listed as fb.

## Reports (financial) of State officers:

- Insurance commissioners, 1868-1891, 4 fb.
- Immigration commissioners, 1852-1875, 1886-1889, 6 fb.
- Secretary of state, 1860-1878, 1886-1891, 6 fb.
- Treasurer, 1862-1864, 1888-1891, 3 fb.
- Superintendent of public instruction, 1887-1891, 1 fb.
- Surveyor general, 1862-1879, 1889-1891, 3 fb.
- Controller, 1875-1882, 2 fb.
- Trustees of Home for Feeble-Minded Children, 1888-1890, 1 fb.
- Yosemite Valley commissioners, 1889-1891, 1 fb.
- Wardens of State prisons, 1888-1891, 2 fb.
- Directors of Adult-blind Home, 1891, 1 fb.
- Fish commissioners, 1889-1891, 1 fb.
- Harbor commissioners, 1863-1890, 9 fb.
- Clerk of the supreme court, 1868-1879, 1883-1886, 1890-1891, 5 fb.

## Reports of county officers:

- Auditors' monthly reports, 1850-1873, 1875-1892, 60 fb.
- Auditors' quarterly reports, 1857-1869, 4 fb.
- Auditors' statements of value of county property, 1872-1891, 9 fb.
- Auditors' statements of taxes charged to tax collector, 1862-1879, 11 fb.
- Auditors' statements of delinquent taxes, 1852-1857, 1873-1890, 11 fb.
- Treasurers' reports of sale of State lands, 1858-1889, 240 fb.
- Annual financial reports of counties, 1868-1890, 12 fb.
- Quarterly reports of license collector for San Francisco, 1880-1891, 2 fb.
- Tax accounts of counties, 1850-1878, 15 fb.
- Poll-tax receipts, 1861-1872, 18 fb.
- County tax levies and apportionment of railway taxation, 1883-1890, 4 fb.
- Abstracts of taxable property and delinquent taxes, 1852-1871, 9 fb.
- Abstract of State and county licenses issued, by counties, 1857-1872, 19 fb.
- Orders and receipts for State and county licenses, 1855-1872, 9 fb.
- Appropriations of hospital moneys by boards of supervisors, 1864-1871 (also election statistics, 1861-1864), 1 fb.
- Certificates of redemption of real estate taken for delinquent taxes, 1880-1897, 138 fb.
- Miscellaneous accounts of treasurers, 1857-1864, 1 fb.

## Other records:

- Controllers' vouchers, first to fortieth fiscal years, 1849-1889, 825 fb.
- Vouchers, etc., State engineer's office, 1878-1882, 7 fb.
- Vouchers, State prisons, 1873-1874, 1876, 1879, 5 fb.
- Vouchers, State mining bureau, 1888-1891, 1 fb.
- Vouchers, commissioners to New Orleans Exposition, 1885, 1fb.
- Vouchers for redemption of Indian war bonds of 1857, 1 fb.
- Redeemed controllers' warrants, 1850-1888, 186 fb.
- List of warrants paid in treasurer's office, 1882-1885, 1891-1892, 4 fb.
- Controllers' receipts, 1851, 1853-1880, 2 fb.
- Controllers' orders, 1857-1890, 43 fb.
- Controllers' warrant registers, 1880-1889 (in secretary of state's locker F), 11 vols.
- Treasurers' receipts, 1869-1887, 19 fb.
- Canceled bonds, 1850-1861, 3 fb.

**Other records—Continued.**

Railway taxation, tax suits, etc., 1881-1884, 2 fb.

Escheated estates, 1876-1891, 1 fb.

Revenue stamp papers, 1861-1872, 4 fb and several volumes.

Miscellaneous tax papers, 1872-1880, 2 fb.

Requisitions for supplies to State offices, 1886 (also State prison vouchers, 1860), 1 fb.

Records of "foreign miners' licenses," 1850-1868, 14 fb and several volumes.

Miscellaneous financial papers, 1852-1876, 1880-1885, 2 fb.

Powers of attorney, 1851-1882, 13 fb.

Opinions of attorney general, 1860-1880, 1 fb.

Letters to controllers, 1850-1883, 27 fb.

Letters to treasurers, 1867-1872, 1 fb.

In addition to the above, controllers' lockers A-K contain several hundred volumes of controllers' records, 1850-1890, comprising ledgers, journals, cash-books, tax reports, auditors' reports, letters, etc.

*B. Records of secretary of state's office.*

**Legislative records** (senate and assembly bills, proceedings, governors' messages, etc.):

1850, 15 fb; 1851, 22 fb; 1852, 18 fb; 1853, 27 fb; 1854, 19 fb; 1855, 19 fb; 1856, 32 fb; 1857, 33 fb; 1858, 41 fb; 1859, 43 fb; 1860, 41 fb; 1861, 43 fb; 1862, 48 fb; 1863, 37 fb; 1864, 26 fb; 1865, 7 fb (includes some executive papers); 1865-1866, 27 fb; 1867-1868, 31 fb; 1869-1870, 49 fb; 1871-1872, 68 fb; 1873-1874, 66 fb; 1875-1876, 63 fb; 1877-1878, 72 fb; 1880, 52 fb; 1881, 39 fb; 1883, 35 fb; 1884, 8 fb (extra session); 1885, 34 fb; 1886, 2 fb (extra session); Senate and assembly journals, 1849-1891, 149 large volumes.

**Other records, 1849-1891:**

About 150 volumes, including minutes of committees, reports of committees, indexes to laws, cash accounts, receipt books.

Also several bundles of records of contested elections.

Certificates of election and oaths of office, 1877, 1fb.

Resolutions, minor appointments, mileage, etc., 1880-1883, 3 fb.

**Executive records:**

"Executive papers" (letters, reports, applications, etc.); 1850, 15 fb; 1851, 7 fb; 1852, 6 fb; 1853, 11 fb; 1854, 7 fb; 1855, 12 fb; 1856, 7 fb; 1857, 5 fb; 1858, 7 fb; 1859, 6 fb; 1860, 6 fb; 1861, 3 fb; 1862, 6 fb; 1863, 2 fb; 1864, 5 fb; 1865, 7 fb (includes some legislative papers); 1865-66, 5 fb; 1867-1870, 18 fb.

Proclamations, 1860-1865, 1871-1879, 1880-1890, 1891-1899, 1900-1901, 1906-1908, 1909-1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 8 fb.

Papers relating to criminals.

Applications for pardon and action thereon, 1854-1882, 50 fb; also many volumes in governors' lockers. A-C.

Commutation of sentence, 1872-1875, 1 fb.

Rewards offered, 1856-1915, 3 fb.

Requisitions for escaped criminals, 1872-1875, 1 fb.

**Election returns:**

1855, 3 fb; 1856, 3 fb; 1857, 3 fb; 1858, 2 fb; 1859, 5 fb; 1860, 3 fb; 1861, 4 fb; 1862, 2 fb; 1863, 23 fb (includes votes of soldiers); 1864, 7 fb (includes votes of soldiers); 1865, 7 fb; 1867, 4 fb; 1868, 1 fb; 1869, 2 fb.

**Census reports:**

1852, 2 fb; 1880, 1891, 1900, 1 fb.

Also one bundle containing census of California, 1798, taken under direction of the Spanish Government, in Spanish. List of matriculados, with birthplace and age, by jurisdictions and pueblos. Contains also "Libro de matricula," 1834. (Original copies.)

**Prison and insane-asylum records:**

Prison reports, 1872-1879, 11 fb.

Prison claims, 1855, 1 fb.

Lists of persons received at State prisons, 1885-1888, and at Stockton Insane Asylum, 1888, 2 fb.

**Maps and plans:**

Two hundred and seventeen maps, 1857-1916. Card indexed and numbered, 1-217. Include rights of way of railroads, boundary maps, climatic maps, agricultural district maps, political district maps, oil district maps, irrigation maps, building plans, etc.

One large volume (about 2½ by 5 feet), containing 26 section maps of California, not dated.

One bundle of tracings of Spanish ranches.

**Letters to secretary of state:**

1853 3 fb; 1854, 3 fb; 1855, 3 fb; 1856, 2 fb; 1857, 2 fb; 1876-1894, 56 fb (indexed alphabetically); 1891, 1 fb. Also many large bundles in lockers.

Statute laws of California, 1850-1916 (not complete).

Original laws of California, 1850-1916.

"Spanish Archives," 1834-1845, 18 volumes. Chiefly copies of "expedientes," in Spanish with English translation; comprise 8 volumes in Spanish, 8 volumes of translation, 2 volumes of maps.

**State papers (chiefly "notarial applications"):**

Gov. George Stoneman, 16 fb.

Gov. Washington Bartlett, 5 fb.

**Other records:**

Papers relating to formation of State constitution, 1849—

Returns of elections of delegates to convention.

Reports of committees, etc.

Engrossed copy of constitution, 4 fb.

Also one large volume containing journal of convention, and constitution, engrossed on parchment, with signatures of members of convention.

Papers relating to formation of State constitution, 1878-1879—

Journal of convention, 1 large volume.

✓ Minutes, petitions, protests, reports, etc., 31 fb.

Journal of convention to revise charter of San Francisco, 1853, 1 volume.

Papers relating to organization and reorganization of towns, counties, and cities, 1883-1916, 14 fb.

Deeds to State of California and abstracts of title to State property, 1855-1916, 13 fb, and bundles in lockers.

Papers and maps relating to State lands, 1862-1876, etc., 1 fb.

Papers relating to maintenance of capitol, 1872-1875, 1893, 4 fb; also several volumes and bundles in lockers.

Papers relating to schools, 1857-1879, 2 fb.

Annual reports of railways, 1863-1885, 2 fb.

Statement of passenger traffic and schedule of rates, 1875-1878, 1 bundle.

## Other records—Continued.

- Contracts, bids, and bonds for supplies to State printer, 1888–1916, 6 fb.
- Officers' bonds, 1863–1886, 5 fb.
- Contractors' bonds, 1864–1887, 1 fb.
- Contracts and bids for supplies, 1870–1884, 1 fb.
- Papers relating to Yosemite Valley commission, etc., 1872, 1 fb.
- Claims against State board of agriculture, 1863–1866, 1 fb.
- Resignations and returned commissions, 1872–1890, 4 fb.
- Impressions of State and county seals, 1851–1900, 1 fb.
- Photographic exhibits in case of *United States v. Limantour*, United States District Court for Northern California, 1858, 1 large vol., containing facsimile maps, land grants, letters, etc., chiefly in Spanish.
- "Report on the Geology of the Coast Mountains, embracing their agricultural resources, and Mineral Productions; also portions of the Middle and Northern Mining Districts," by Dr. John B. Trask, 1855. Bundle in 1 fb.
- Letters to State treasurer, 1867–1872, 1 fb.
- Bids for supplies and bonds, 1888 to 1916, 6 fb.
- Oaths of office, commissioners of deeds, 1872 to 1899, 4 fb.
- Oaths of office, directors of agricultural districts, 1880–1898, 7 fb.
- Reprieves, commutation of sentence, pardons, and restoration of citizenship by governors, 1897–1915, 6 boxes.
- Rewards by governors, 1856 to 1879, 1888 to 1890, 1891 to 1915. 3 fb.
- Report by State board of examiners of moneys in the State treasury, 1871–1886, 1887–1908, 1908–1911, 3 fb.
- Reports of commissioners for the provisions and reform of the law, 1897 and 1902, 2 boxes.
- Miscellaneous papers, resignations, receipts, and reports, 1872 to 1908, 7 fb.
- Letters, receipts, etc., 1880–1901, 7 fb.
- Also several hundred volumes and bundles, 1852–1915, comprising abstracts of title, cashbooks, change of name record (1866), contested elections, lists of notaries, index to corporations, papers of World's Fair commission, 1900, etc.

*C. Records of State treasurer.*

## Contained in treasurer's lockers A–D:

- Several hundred volumes, 1850–1890, comprising appropriation registers, bond records, daybooks, cashbooks, ledgers, monthly reports, warrant books, etc.

*D. Records of governor.*

## Contained in governor's lockers A–C:

- Several hundred volumes, 1857–1890, comprising appointments, investigations, daily journals, letter copy books, proceedings of various boards, pardons, etc.

## CONTENTS OF BASEMENT VAULT NO. 2.

Size, about 35 by 35 feet. Brick walls 2 feet thick; brick ceiling; cement floor. Windows guarded by iron bars. Electric lights, steam heat, dry; shelves, cupboards, and filing boxes all of wood.

*A. Census returns.*

- Berkeley city census, 1906, 1 volume.
- Chico city census, 1906, 1 volume.
- Greenview city census, 1907, 1 volume.

Kern census, 1907, 1 volume.  
Los Angeles city census, 1897, 3 volumes.  
Long Beach city census, 1904, 1906, 1908, 3 volumes.  
Monrovia city census, 1910, 1 volume.  
Oakland city census, 1902, 1 volume.  
Porterville city census, 1910, 1 volume.  
Red Bluff city census, 1908, 1 volume.  
Richmond city census, 1908, 1 volume.  
San Diego city census, 1898, 1 volume.  
San Jose city census, 1897, 1 volume.  
San Buenaventura city census, 1905, 1 volume.  
San Pedro city census, 1906, 1 volume.  
Santa Monica city census, 1905, 1 volume.  
Scott Valley city census, 1907, 1 volume.  
Stockton city census, 1850, 1 volume.

(Above censuses, except Berkeley, include names of inhabitants.)

California census, 1852, by counties. Several large bundles on floor. Gives age, nativity, occupation, etc., of inhabitants, and agricultural and financial statistics. Has been printed in abstract as Appendix to Senate Journal, 1853, volume 5, document No. 14.

California census, 1860, by counties. Gives industrial and vital statistics, educational and religious data. Stored in 4 tin cases.

#### *B. Corporation records.*

Certificates of incorporation. Registers of trade-marks, etc., 1880-1885, 2 fb.  
Certificates of incorporation, 1876, 1 fb.  
List of articles of incorporation filed, 1881, 1 volume.  
Index of unrecorded articles of incorporation, January 1, 1879, January 5, 1880, box on floor.  
Closing books, department of corporations, December, 1910, 1 bundle.  
Stubs of corporation tax receipts, about 300 volumes.  
Letters to secretary of state regarding corporations, 1905-1915, 866 fb.  
Stub books of articles of incorporation, 1895-1916.  
Stub books of certificates of incorporation, 1901-1916.

#### *C. Election papers.*

Election returns:

1865, 1 bundle.  
1867, 2 bundles.  
1868, 13 bundles.  
1882, 1 sheet.  
1902, 1 bundle.  
1906, 2 bundles.  
1910, 6 bundles.  
1911-1913 (constitutional amendments), 2 bundles and 2 volumes.  
1871-1915, 236 fb.  
1888-1915, 66 volumes.  
1849-1887 (tabulated), 1 volume.

Petitions of nomination:

1890-1900, 1 box on floor.  
1893-1914, several bundles on shelves.  
1896, 1 sack.

Certificates of election, 1896, 1 bundle.

Election contests, testimony, etc., various dates, several bundles.

Maps of election precincts, San Francisco, 1902, 1 volume; 1907, 10 large charts.

Affidavits of receipts and expenditures of candidates, 1894-1914.

Roll call and ballot sheet, Republican State convention, 1902, 1 bundle.

Vouchers for bills paid by Republican State central committee for expenses of campaign, 1904, 1 bundle.

#### *D. Executive papers.*

Commissions accepted and returned, 1872-1874, 3 fb.

Correspondence between Gov. Low and Brig. Gen. Carlton, concerning mustering out of California volunteers, 1865, 1 bundle.

Petitions for pardons and pardons granted, 8 fb.

Oaths of office, resignations, etc., of State officers, 1871, 1 fb.

State papers, Gov. Henry H. Markham, 13 fb.

Titles of acts approved, 1856-1857, 1 volume.

#### *E. Legislative papers.*

Committee reports, 1873-1876, 1883, 43 bundles and several fb.

Diagram of desks, senate and assembly, 1905, 2 charts.

Governor's message, 1860, 1 bundle.

Investigations, various dates, 6 volumes. 7 bundles, etc.

Miscellaneous account books, receipt books, requisition books, stationery records, etc., several hundred stub books, ledgers, etc.

Original rough senate and assembly minutes and journals 1889-1916, several hundred bundles.

Original senate and assembly bills, resolutions, and constitutional amendments, 1887-1915, all in fb.

Petitions, oaths of office, contested elections, receipts, and other miscellaneous legislative papers, 1887-1915, many bundles and volumes in compartments 1-19 under shelves.

#### *F. Maps and plans.*

"Sale map No. 11, Salt Marsh and Tide Lands," Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, 1872.

"Sale map No. 12, Salt Marsh and Tide Lands," San Francisco County, 1873.

Map of salt-marsh tide and submerged lands disposed of by the State of California, adjacent to San Francisco and San Pablo Bays and subject to reclamation. No date.

Nine sale maps of tide lands of the State.

Map of unsurveyed ranches, San Diego. No date.

Twenty-nine blue prints, etc., of State capitol.

#### *G. Prison and asylum records.*

Monthly prison reports, 1857, 1 bundle.

Reports of commissary of San Quentin prison, 1876, 1880, 1 fb.

Report of special State prison committee, 1857-1858, 1 bundle.

Vouchers, State prison, 1860, 2 bundles.

Records of jute department, San Quentin prison, 1888, 5 volumes.

Letters, etc., relating to administration of San Quentin and Folsom prisons, 1887-1888, 1 bundle.

Daybook, San Quentin prison, 1855, 1 vol.

Register and descriptive list of convicts at Folsom State prison, 1883-1886, 1 volume.

Register and descriptive list of convicts at San Quentin State prison, 1884-1886, 1 volume.

Exhibit filed with senate committee on prisons, 1903, 1 bundle.

Napa Insane Asylum report. No date.

Papers relating to Stockton Insane Asylum, 1868, 1 bundle.

Report of directors of Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylum. Sealed.

*H. Transcripts of testimony, exhibits, and miscellaneous documents relating to criminal cases, 1875-1901.*

About 400 volumes and bundles.

*I. Controller's miscellaneous papers.*

Canceled bonds and warrants, various dates, 1 fb.

Register of warrants funded, 1855-1856, 1 bundle.

County treasurers' receipts, 1889-1901, 1 box.

Controller's reports, 1858-1860, 1865, 3 bundles.

One package of books comprising chiefly delinquent-tax lists and county assessment rolls, 1850-1857.

*J. Reports of State officers.*

Attorney general, 1878-1879, 1 bundle.

Bank commissioner, 1879, 1 bundle.

Board of equalization, 1879, 1 bundle.

Board of health, 1879, 1 bundle.

Board of regents of State university (sealed), 1 bundle.

Capitol commission, 1867-1868, 1 bundle.

Commissioner of emigration, 1860, 1 bundle.

Harbor commissioners, 1872, 1 fb.

Insurance commissioner, 1877, 1878, 2 bundles.

State Agricultural Society, 1858-1878.

State librarian (sealed), 1 bundle.

Superintendent of public instruction, 1858, 1859, 1878-1879, 5 bundles.

Surveyor general (sealed), 1 bundle.

Treasurer (sealed), 1 bundle.

*K. Miscellaneous papers.*

Letter copy books, license department, secretary of state, July 6, 1905-November 2, 1908, 13 volumes.

Unreturned vouchers, express collections, etc., license department of secretary of state, 3 bundles.

Order books (stubs) of secretary of state, 1880-1885.

Account book, maintenance of capitol, July, 1889, 1 volume.

County clerk's certificates, 1873-1876, 6 fb.

Letters received by secretary of state, 1870, 1871-72, 1872-1875, 8 fb.

Record of notaries public, 1856, 1 volume.

Certificates of qualification of notaries, 1877-78, fb.

Register of visitors to California exhibit at Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904, 2 volumes.

Records of California exhibit at Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904 (minutes of commission, correspondence, financial accounts, etc.), 3 large boxes.



Wells-Fargo Express C. O. D. receipt books and envelopes, various dates.  
 Order books, State printer, 1881, 1887-1891, 2 volumes.  
 Bids for furnishing paper to State printer, 1906, 1 bundle.  
 Account book, clerk of supreme court, 1894, 1 bundle.  
 Petition to supervisors of Fresno County regarding sale of liquor, 1885, 1 bundle.  
 Letters, etc., to Secretary of State Forman, 1857-58, 1 bundle.  
 Catalogue showing publications of State of California distributed in exchange to other States, and publications of other States in California, State library, Vallejo, August 9, 1852, 1 volume.  
 Golden Gate Park testimony, 1876, 1 bundle.  
 Report on Sacramento canal, 1866, 1 bundle.  
 "Index Map of Civil Code of California," mounted on cloth. No date.  
 Miscellaneous vouchers, 1907-9, 1 bundle.  
 War-claim papers, 1 fb.  
 Requisitions for stationery, etc., 1861-63, 1865, 1871-1879, 6 volumes and 27 fb.  
 Statements of fees of county officers, 1868-1881, 2 volumes and 3fb.  
 Receipts of county clerks, 1875-1879, 1 fb.  
 Receipts of State officers, 1875-1879, 1 fb.  
 Receipts for volumes of California Reports, etc., 1872-74, 1 fb.  
 Summons to absent defendants, May 17, 1872, May 12, 1874, 53 fb.  
 Insurance policies on State property, 1881-1883, 1 fb.  
 Receipts for California publications, 1881-1884, 3 fb.  
 Receipts for books sent to other States, 1870-1881, 1 fb.  
 "Day book" of lots sold in San Francisco. No date; apparently about 1854, 1 volume.  
 M. Register of trade-marks, 1861-1910.

#### CONTENTS OF BASEMENT VAULT NO. 3.

Size, about 20 by 40 feet. Brick walls 3 feet thick; brick ceiling; cement floor. One window protected by iron bars. Electric lights; steam heat; dry. Furniture, wood. Doorway between vaults 2 and 3. No door between. Papers well arranged by subjects and in good condition.

#### Executive papers:

These documents, labeled "State papers," are arranged by subjects under each administration. They comprise chiefly pardons, notary records, militia papers, applications for office, opinions of attorney general, State land office, reports of commission, etc., all arranged in filing boxes.

#### State papers:

Gov. Peter H. Burnett, 1850-1, 1 fb.  
 Gov. John McDougal, 1851, 1 fb.  
 Gov. John Bigler, 1852-1854, 2 fb.  
 Gov. J. Neeley Johnson, 1855-1858, 5 fb.  
 Gov. John B. Weller, 1858-59, 9 fb.  
 Gov. Milton S. Latham, 1859-60.  
 Gov. John G. Downey, 1860-61, 26 fb.  
 Gov. Leland Stanford, 1861-1863, 24 fb.  
 Gov. Frederick F. Low, 1863-1867, 39 fb.  
 Gov. Henry H. Haight, 1867-1871, 37 fb.  
 Gov. Newton Booth, 1871-1875, 53 fb.  
 Gov. Romualdo Pacheco, 1875, 9 fb.  
 Gov. William Irwin, 1875-1879, 91 fb.  
 Gov. George C. Perkins, 1879-1882, 36 fb.  
 Gov. George Stoneman, 1883-1886, 93 fb.

## State papers—Continued.

- Gov. Washington Bartlett, 1887, 17 fb.
- Gov. Robert W. Waterman, 1887-1890, 123 fb.
- Gov. Henry H. Markham, 1891-1894, 181 fb.
- Gov. James H. Budd, 1895-1898, 157 fb.
- Gov. Henry T. Gage, 1899-1902, 148 fb.
- Gov. George C. Pardee, 1903-1906, 212 fb.
- Gov. J. N. Gillette, 1907-1910, 265 fb.

## Reports of commissioners, etc.:

- State harbor commissioners, 1873-1880, 1 fb.
- Petitions, canceled bonds, etc., convicts, 27 fb.

## Miscellaneous:

- Oaths of notaries public, 1878-1916, 190 fb.
- Decrees of changes of name, 1866-1915, 4 fb.
- Superior court summons, 1892-1915, 19 fb.
- Oaths of office, superior court judges, 1873-1912, 4 fb.
- Certificates to practice architecture, Nos. 1 to 600, 1901-1910, 2 fb.
- Oaths of office, county clerks, 1879-1914, 17 fb.
- Oaths of office, department fish and game commissioners, 1900-1913, 7 fb.
- Oaths of office, fire wardens, 1905-1912, 5 fb.

Forfeited articles of incorporation, 1905-1916, Nos. 1-51650.

Forfeited railroad charters, 32 fb.

Forfeited agents of foreign corporations, 6 fb.

Letters received by corporation department, secretary of state's office, 1895-1910, 421 fc.<sup>1</sup>

## Large folio volumes:

- "Records of incorporation," covering 1850-1916 on lower shelf, lockers 25-48, inclusive; 14 volumes numbered A-N; 1 volume index to volumes A-N, volumes 1-23, inclusive; 1 volume duplicate of part of volume A; 333 volumes numbered 1-333, inclusive; 24 volumes indexes; 17 volumes miscellaneous; total, 390 volumes of corporation records.

## Locker No. 25:

- Scrapbooks of newspaper clippings relating to railroads, especially the railroad commission, 1887-1902, 10 volumes.
- Reporters' notebooks, letters, and rate sheets.
- Papers of railroads piled loosely on shelf.

## Locker No. 26:

- Railroad commission about 1892-1906.
- Minutes of meetings of commission.
- Letter files.
- Tariff sheets.
- Bills, maps, annual reports.

## Locker No. 27:

- Annual reports of railroads to board of railroad commissioners—1888, 23 volumes; 1889, 2 volumes; 1890, 25 volumes; 1891, 26 volumes; 1892, 15 volumes; 1893, 23 volumes.

## Locker No. 28:

- Annual reports to railroad commissioners—1894, 26 volumes; 1895, 36 volumes; 1896, 39 volumes; 1897, 40 volumes; 1898, 24 volumes.

## Locker No. 29:

- Records of governor's office—Gov. George Stoneman, 15 volumes; Gov. Washington Bartlett, 7 volumes.

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<sup>1</sup>Fc, filing cases.

**Locker No. 30:**

Records of governor's office—Gov. R. W. Waterman, 10 volumes; Gov. Henry A. Markham, 11 volumes, 2 indexes.

**Locker No. 31:**

Records of governor's office—Gov. Henry H. Markham, 10 volumes; Gov. James H. Budd, 8 volumes.

Description of prisoners, San Quentin and Folsom, 1892-1894, 2 volumes.

**Locker No. 32:**

Records of governor's office—Gov. James H. Budd, 12 volumes, 3 indexes.

Index to senate and assembly bills, session of 1897-1904, 3 volumes.

**Locker No. 33:**

Empty.

**Locker No. 34:**

Records of governor's office—Gov. Henry T. Gage, 18 volumes.

**Locker No. 35:**

Records of governor's office—Gov. Geo. C. Pardee, 13 volumes.

Index to senate and assembly bills, 1899-1904.

**Locker No. 36:**

Records of governor's office—Gov. James N. Gillette, 6 volumes.

Index to senate and assembly bills, 1909.

**Locker No. 37:**

Orders of release of prisoners, San Quentin and Folsom prison, volumes 1 to 25, with index, secretary of state.

**Locker No. 38:**

Letter books, secretary of state, 1899-1901.

Official correspondence, miscellaneous letters from secretary of state, one bundle.

Canceled certificates of incorporation term of Frank C. Jordan, secretary of state (not filed in the books).

Architect license without examination, 1 volume.

Architect license with examination, 1 volume.

Three stub books, architect license, 1901-1915.

**Locker No. 39:**

Letter books of secretary of state, 1899-1901, 3 volumes. (Official correspondence; miscellaneous letters from secretary.)

Records of incorporation, 4 volumes. (Not in serial no. marked "Miscellaneous.")

Index to trade-marks, 5 volumes.

Index to claimants (of trade-marks), 5 volumes.

Certificate of claim to trade-marks, 1 volume. (Canceled.)

**Locker No. 40:**

Papers of Yosemite Valley commission: Letter books, deeds, leases, insurance policies, contracts, minutes, etc.

Vouchers, 1875-1906, 13 volumes, 39 bundles, 3 letter files, 1 fc.

"Claims to Trade-Mark Certificate Books," 1902-1906, 7 volumes.

Records of trade-marks, 1865-1910, 5 volumes.

**Locker No. 41:**

Books of Yosemite Valley commission.

Account books.

Minute books.

Letter books, 24 volumes.

Receipt books.

Bank books, etc.

**Locker No. 42:**

Shelf of commercial labels filed as samples of trade-marks.

**Lockers Nos. 43, 44, 45:**

Nomination papers of State officers, 1914. (Nomination papers to be preserved for four years, after which they can be destroyed.)

**Lockers Nos. 46, 47, 48:**

Miscellaneous papers.

**Locker No. 49:**

Papers of board of railroad commissioners.

Transcript of testimony.

Letter books.

Decisions.

Railroad tariffs, etc.

Miscellaneous documents, 1887-ca 1896, 26 volumes.

Records of transportation commissioners, 1876-1878.

Accident record.

Letter books.

Minute books, etc., 8 volumes.

**STATE CONTROLLER.**

The State controller occupies four rooms on the first floor of the capitol which contain current records only.

The following commissions and departments are under the direction of the State controller: The inheritance-tax department, franchise license-tax department, and these occupy two rooms on the different floors of the building.

**BASEMENT VAULT NO. 1.**

Size, about 20 by 30 feet. Brick walls 3 feet thick. Cement floor. Brick ceiling. Dry. Entire east wall covered by wooden shelves, containing audited bills, salary, and accounts, and other claims against the State, 1889-1912.

Claims in numerical order from 1889-1912. All neatly arranged.

Notice of conveyance of real-estate blanks, 1 bundle.

Redemption of real estate, 24 fc.

Statements of property sold to the State, 1891-1901, 30 volumes.

Controller's letters, 1910-1913, 1 fc.

**Miscellaneous papers:**

State prison vouchers.

Prisoners received from State prisons, 1888-1907.

Insurance commission.

Surveyor general.

Secretary of State.

Clerk of the supreme court, etc.

West wall of basement vault, covered by wooden shelves containing biennial reports from 1891-1915:

State controller building and loan association and financial reports, biennial.

Discharges and orders from the controller to State treasurer, 1852-1866, 107 volumes.

Letter books, 1890-1912.

Powers of attorney, 1888-1906.

Warrants drawn on treasurer outstanding, 1 bundle.

State treasurer's interest on deposits, 1908-1914.

County clerk's commission, 1 bundle.

Harbor improvements bonds, 1900-1907.

Certificates from county tax collector and county auditor, 1898-1900, 16 bundles.  
Contracts, 1 bundle.  
State settlements, 1891-1905, 14 bundles.  
Alameda book assessments, 1911-1914, 2 bundles.  
Reports and remittances, 1862-1915, 16 bundles.  
Financial transactions, 1911-1913, 2 bundles.  
Financial reports, 1898-1911, 3 bundles.  
Delinquent taxes, 1901-1906, 2 bundles.  
Taxes charged to the tax collectors, 1892-1904, 3 bundles.  
Report of the assessors, 1890-1914, 10 bundles.  
Auditor's statement, 1891-1914, 8 bundles.  
Report of motor vehicle department.  
Charges against different counties, 1913-1916, 9 bundles.  
Whittier and Preston Reform School and California School for Girls, 1891 to 1915, inclusive.  
Report of Feeble-minded Home, 1901-1907.  
Contracts for Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylum, second story.  
Educational building and girls' home.  
Contracts for State prison at Folsom.  
Reports of California State prison at San Quentin, 1881-1904.  
Sonoma Home reports, 1910-1913, 1 bundle.  
Maps of counties, 10.  
Settlement of county treasurers from 1851-1886.  
All bills and resolutions on file for 1915 of the senate and assembly.  
California Blue Book, 1895-1909.  
War claims, California and Nevada, 1 volume.  
Books and directories.  
Forty-fifth session of the senate and assembly, 13 volumes.

*A. Franchise Corporation License Tax Department.*

The franchise license tax department was created in 1910. Records kept in the vault of the State controller:  
Franchise license tax receipts, 1911-1914.  
Vouchers for 1914.  
Corporations forfeiting charter or right to do business in the State, 1912-1915.  
Protests filed, 1911-1915, 19 bundles.

*A. Inheritance-Tax Department.*

The inheritance-tax department was created by an act of the legislature in 1911. Records kept in the basement of vault 1 of the State controller. Records of the different estates in many bundles and volumes.

STATE TREASURER.

The State treasurer occupies three rooms on the first floor of the State capitol, with large fire and burglar proof vault, which contains all bonds, moneys, and other securities. All current records are kept in these rooms.

BASEMENT VAULT.

Size, about 20 by 20 feet; brick and plastered walls, 3 feet thick; concrete floor; electric lights; steam heat; dry; wooden doors—contains the following records:

Warrant registers, years 1857 to 1914.

Bonds destroyed and warrants redeemed 1853-1855, 1 volume.

Warrants redeemed, July 1, 1868, to July 1, 1909; balance in regular vault upstairs.

Register of treasurer's certificates, 1852-1854, 1 volume.

Priority register of warrants, 1855-1857, 1 volume.

Cashbooks, about 40 volumes.

Coupon books, 5 volumes.

"Effects of deceased persons," several bundles.

Letter copy books, 1850-1880, 9 volumes.

Tide-land commissioners' receipts, 1873, 1 fb.

Letter boxes.

Miscellaneous data, 3 boxes.

Receipt books, stubs, miscellaneous, about 30 volumes.

Cash ledgers, 1907 to 1913, 6 volumes.

Miscellaneous bond books.

Insurance securities and withdrawals, 2 tin boxes.

Receipts to 1899, 1 bundle.

Minutes of State board of prison directors, 1856, 1 volume.

Miscellaneous books.

Coupon book, 1879.

Redemption register, 1852-1854.

Certificates of balances issued, 1855.

Soldiers' relief, 1864, Pacific railroad, etc., 1 volume.

Register of land certificates, 1858, 1 volume.

Register of swamp-land warrants, 1861-1867, 1 volume.

Receipt account bonds of 1857-1860.

Miscellaneous papers, 1 box of bundles.

Swamp-land warrants, 1860-61, 1 bundle.

Treasurers' certificates, 1854-1857, 3 volumes.

Several bundles of canceled bonds, various dates.

List of vouchers paid to California Volunteers from State bounty fund and soldiers' relief fund, 1883-84, 1 bundle.

Warrants for appropriations to pay warrant bonds, etc., 1 bundle.

Canceled tide-land deeds, several bundles.

Controllers' orders, several bundles.

Cabinet of copies of letters, 1813-1915.

Press copies of letters, 6 books.

Deposit ledger of State funds, 1 volume.

Deposit journal of State funds, 2 volumes.

#### ATTORNEY GENERAL.

The attorney general occupies three rooms on the first floor of the State capitol, which contain the following records:

Copies of opinions of attorneys general from 1899 to 1916, which are bound typewritten copies with indexes.

Correspondence in regard to all business of the office, in many files.

Complete records in civil cases referring to State school lands, in files.

Complete records of criminal cases, in files.

Register of cases, etc., in many volumes.

Basement vault: Size, about 20 by 30 feet; brick walls, 3 feet thick; brick ceiling; concrete floor; electric lights; dry; wooden doors; and contains the following records: Old records of civil and criminal cases, placed on wooden shelves.

## SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE.

The surveyor general occupies three rooms on the second floor of the State capitol, and concrete vault with steel combination lock door.

Contents of vault partially arranged on wooden shelves.

Contents of two outer rooms well arranged in metal cases, not fireproof, poor location as regards fire.

In the vault of the surveyor general's office there are the following records: Over 400 maps and charts of tide, school, etc.; lands, towns, railroad rights of way, ranches, etc., from early fifties to date; nearly all listed in excellent card index.

Tide records.

Soundings.

Surveyors' field notes of tide-land survey, 1868; about 150 notebooks.

Survey of eastern boundary of California, 1863.

Field notes and miscellaneous papers.

Large pile of receipts, survey certificate, etc., 1853 and later.

Filing certificates, 1889-1910, about 50 volumes.

Letters from United States Land Office, 1880-1902, 16 fb.

Stubs of various receipt books for payment on State school lands, swamp and overflowed lands, tide lands, etc., 1855; about 150 volumes.

Applications by State land office to United States Land Office for grants of land under act of Congress, March 3, 1853, 6 fb.

Several filing boxes of miscellaneous records of land grants, various dates.

Letter-copy books, 1856-1904, 133 volumes.

Copies of tax deeds, field notes, and other miscellaneous papers, 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880.

Several filing boxes, end of vault (outer two rooms).

Applications for grants, early fifties to date (several hundred filing boxes).

Filing records, by land districts, early fifties to date (on steel racks, like all papers in outer office).

Records of reclamation districts, 11 fb.

Contested-land cases, 16 fb.

Records of patents of school lands (several volumes, on racks).

Reports of county treasurers of sale of school lands, several fb.

Very good order, except some of oldest letter books, and miscellaneous documents, filed notes, etc.

## STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The office of the State superintendent of public instruction has been removed from the State capitol to temporary quarters until the completion of the annex to the capitol building.

## CONTENTS OF BASEMENT VAULT.

Size, about 27 by 30 feet; brick walls, 4 feet thick; brick ceiling; concrete floor; electric lights; steam heat; dry; wooden door.

There are stored here, for distribution, copies of school laws, registers, and blank forms of all sorts—teachers' certificates, reports, diplomas, teachers' contracts, etc.

The records preserved in the vault are the older ones. The current records are kept in the office.

The older records comprise the following: School laws, bound; issued every other year. Correspondence; letters received and copies of letters sent.

Circulars, pamphlets, etc., issued by superintendent of public instruction, and State board of education.

Record of teachers' diplomas.

Records of State board of education relating to State school system.

Annual reports of county superintendents.

School and other educational statistics, summarized in the biennial reports of the office.

#### STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

The State board of equalization consists of five members. The State controller is, ex officio, a member of the board. Its members are elected from four districts in the State. They occupy two rooms on the first floor of the capitol. Current records only.

Old records of the State board of equalization are deposited in basement vault No. 1, State controller, as follows:

Property of the Northern California Power Co., 1 bundle.

Property of the Northwestern Pacific Railway, 1 bundle.

Property of the Salt Lake Railroad, 1 bundle.

Property of the Southern Pacific in Nevada and Santa Barbara Counties, 1 bundle.

Property of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Inyo and Kings Counties, 1 bundle.

Property of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Santa Clara and Yuba Counties, 1 bundle.

Property of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Alameda and Imperial Counties, 2 volumes.

Property of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Los Angeles and Napa Counties, 1 volume.

Property of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Shasta and Yuba Counties, 1 volume.

Property of the Southern Pacific Railroad in San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Madera, and Santa Diego Counties, 1 volume.

Property of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Los Angeles and Inyo Counties, 1 volume.

Assessment rolls of public-service corporations in Los Angeles and other counties, 11 volumes, with indexes, 3 volumes.

Old reports on assessment rolls, 3 bundles.

Assessment franchise report, 1 year, 1911.

Common and public service, 1 year, 1912.

Reports of various railroads (nonoperative and operative) from 1911 to 1914, 13 bundles.

State board of equalization blank reports, 1911-1914, 4 bundles.

Old blanks for railroad assessments, 1 bundle.

Reports of counties of taxes levied and values of railroads, 5 bundles.

Letters filed from 1891 to 1911, 6 fc., 1 bundle.

Blank records of assessment rolls by the State board of equalization, 1 bundle.

The State reports by the board of equalization from 1895 to 1915, in many volumes.

Bulletins of State board of equalization, 2 bundles.

#### DISTRICT COURT OF APPEALS.

The third appellate district court occupies six rooms on the first floor of the capitol. Created in 1905. Consists of three members. The records are all current and consist of the following:



## Civil cases:

Original protection, 147.

Direct of appeals, 420.

Transferred, 916, from 1905 to 1915, inclusive.

## Criminal cases:

Original protection, 94.

Direct of appeals, 220.

Transferred, 26, from 1905 to 1915, inclusive.

Current cases are filed in the clerk's office for 90 days and after that time are placed on wooden shelves in vault in the basement. Used in conjunction with the clerk of the supreme court.

## CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT (APPOINTIVE).

The clerk of the supreme court occupies three rooms on the first floor of the capitol. This official, previous to 1912, was elected. He is now appointed by the judges of the supreme court and holds office at their pleasure.

The main office is in San Francisco with the supreme court. Branch offices are located in Los Angeles and Sacramento, with a deputy in charge. He occupies three rooms on the first floor of the capitol. The current records consist of all cases and decisions relating to the Sacramento district.

## BASEMENT VAULT.

Size, about 27 by 30 feet. Brick wall 3 feet thick; brick ceiling, concrete floor, electric lights, steam heat; dry. Wooden door. Contains a great number of briefs and cases filed on wooden shelves by numerical designations, from 1850-1915. This vault is used in conjunction with the district court of appeals.

## SUPERINTENDENT OF STATE PRINTING (APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR).

The printing plant of the State superintendent of printing is located in the State capitol park and is some distance away from the State capitol. The superintendent of State printing occupies two rooms on the second floor of the State capitol, and he has only current records.

## BASEMENT VAULT.

Size, about 40 by 15 feet. Brick walls 3 feet thick; brick ceiling; cement floor; electric lights; steam heat; dry. Contains the following records: Several unopened boxes, said to belong to office of State veterinarian. Fourteen large boxes belonging to State lunacy commission, mostly sealed, scrap-books, letter books, etc.

Pay roll of employees, textbook department:

1897-1903, 2 volumes; 1894-1907, 2 volumes; 1892-1904, 2 volumes; 1888-1892.

Pay roll of employees State printing office:

1877-1890, 4 volumes; 1892-1894, 4 volumes; 1890-1892, 4 volumes; 1887-1892, 4 volumes.

Stock and labor ledgers, 1871-1888, 2 volumes.

Ledgers:

1875-1882; 1887-1892 (textbook department); 1879-1885; 1893-1901 (textbook department); 1892-1901 (textbook department); 5 volumes.

Receipt books for ledger matter, 1875-1878, 1893-1897, 1901-1905, 93 volumes.

Day books: 1875-1881, 1876-1872, 1882-1891, 1882-1887, 41 volumes.

Order book, textbook department, 1893-1895, 1 volume.

Proposal and bond books, 1891-1894, 1875-1890, 2 volumes.

Senate bills:

1875-1881, 31 volumes.

1893-1903, 2 volumes.

Record of textbook sales, 1892, 1907, 1910, 7 volumes.

#### ADJUTANT GENERAL (APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR).

The adjutant general occupies two rooms on the third floor of the State capitol. Records filed in steel filing cases; cases well labeled; contents arranged in a general way.

Archives of adjutant general's office (office, third floor), chiefly from 1850 to 1916:

Papers of California militia, 1854-1916.

Muster rolls, early militia companies, 1850.

Muster rolls, correspondence, etc., of the California volunteers, Civil War.

Muster rolls, correspondence, etc., of the California volunteers, Spanish-American War.

Muster rolls and general militia records, about 300 fb.

Personnel, property, and financial reports by companies.

Courts-martial records.

University cadets.

Naval militia.

Copybooks, 1898-1912, 15 volumes.

Registers, California volunteers, Civil and Spanish-American Wars.

Records of soldiers, relief and bounty funds, 1861-1865, 18 volumes.

Miscellaneous record books, 1865-1916.

Rosters of enlisted men, rosters of enlisted officers, 34 volumes.

Filing books of general and special orders, 1908-1916, 20 volumes.

Expenditures for military expeditions against Indians during the years 1850, 1851, 1852, 1 volume; contains index of statutes relative to Indians, 1851-1853, including names of volunteers and pay rolls, etc.

#### BASEMENT VAULT.

Size, about 20 by 30 feet. Brick walls, 3 feet thick; cement floor; brick ceiling. Electric lights; steam heat; dry. Contains the following records:

Material of miscellaneous dates, but chiefly 1880-1895—

- (a) In filing boxes monthly returns of commanders, muster rolls, oaths, and enlistment papers.

Papers of San Francisco insurrection, 1856.

Courts-martial proceedings.

General orders of United States War Department.

Miscellaneous papers; several hundred filing boxes.

- (b) Books:

Copy books.

Register and order book.

- (c) Letter-filing cases.

#### CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY.

In 1850, at the first session of the Legislature of California, an act was passed establishing "The California State Library." The bill was signed by Gov. Peter H. Burnett, on January 24, 1850. This

act provided that the secretary of state should serve as the State librarian. He continued to act as State librarian until 1861, when an act was passed and approved March 8, 1861, creating a board of trustees, consisting of five members, and empowering the board to appoint a State librarian. The library has since that time been conducted under the auspices of the board of trustees.

The library occupies quarters on the east side of the State capitol, contains 179,527 volumes, and is one of the largest State libraries in the United States. The main portion is contained in rooms of nearly circular construction. This entire section of the building contains about one-fifth of the total floor capacity of the State capitol and is occupied by the library.

The law library is on the first floor, and above it the general collection. The rooms are heated by steam and lighted by electricity. Owing to the circular construction of the building, there is ample light at all times.

The library is organized in departments:

*Law department.*—The law department is one of the largest in the United States. The collection of text books is very complete, and all new publications of this nature which have a general value are secured as soon as possible. All the important legal periodicals, both American and foreign, are received, and of many the library has a complete file. The collection contains many works that are valuable on account of their age and rarity. The department is used a great deal by the legal profession of the State, and provisions are made whereby judges of the supreme court may grant requisitions on the law department for a period of two weeks to attorneys requiring books that can not be obtained elsewhere.

*California department.*—This department occupies the third floor and comprises all the works in the library relating to California and all books by California authors. The department contains a large number of volumes and pamphlets relating to California subjects. It contains a file of California newspapers from the earliest date at which a paper was published in the State down to the present day; also an index to all papers of the same period for all subjects, whether historical, personal, political, or otherwise in relation to the State.

*Reference department.*—The main reference department occupies the central portion of the library on the second floor and has a full set of files on all subjects.

*Documents department.*—The documents department contains a complete set of legislation enacted by the various States of the United States and references to many important subjects.

*Department for the blind.*—The books in the blind department furnish reading matter to the blind people of the State, to the par-

tially blind, and to those who have weak eyes. A circular has been compiled which explains the method of borrowing books and contains a complete list of books in the department. Copies are sent to all the blind borrowers to help them in the selection of books wanted. The department is fully equipped, having over 4,000 different books and papers.

The people of the State, at a general election held November, 1914, voted a bond measure providing \$3,000,000 to construct two additional State buildings in Sacramento; one to be used as an office building and the other to be used as a building for the State courts and the State library.

The following boards, commissions, and departments occupy offices in the State capitol, are all of recent creation, and contain only current records:

State board of control, created 1911, third floor; occupies seven rooms.

Superintendent of capitol building and grounds, created 1911; occupies two rooms on second floor.

Legislative counsel bureau; occupies one room on second floor.

Board of medical examiners of the State of California, created 1911; occupies one room on fourth floor.

California State motor-vehicle department, created in 1913; occupies five rooms on third floor and two rooms in basement.

State board of viticulture, created in 1913; occupies one room.

State purchasing agent, created in 1915; third floor of the State capitol.

#### SACRAMENTO.

The departments, commissions, and boards enumerated below are temporarily located in leased quarters in the Forum Building, Sacramento, Cal. The people of the State have issued bonds amounting to \$3,000,000 for the erection of two additional State buildings in Sacramento, in which all of these commissions and departments will be permanently located. Under the circumstances it is impossible at this time to list the archives of these departments. Their records are mainly current ones, which are constantly in use by them.

*State board of agriculture.*—The State board of agriculture is appointed by the governor; term, four years; no pay. Term of office begins on the first day of February. The board is divided into four classes of three members each, so that three members go out of office every year. Office, State fair grounds, Sacramento.

*Trustees of State burial grounds.*—The trustees of the State burial grounds are appointed by the governor, to hold office at his pleasure, and are three in number.

*State civil-service commission.*—The State civil-service commission consists of three commissioners appointed by the governor. Term, four years after first appointments. Of those who were first appointed the terms are—one to end July 1, 1914; one to end July 1, 1916; one to end July 1, 1917. Succeeding commissioners are to serve four years.

*State corporation department.*—Commissioner of corporations appointed by the governor. Term at the pleasure of the governor. Act was held up by referendum petition and approved by the voters at the election held November 3, 1914.

*State board of education.*—State board of education appointed by the governor—one for a term of one year, two for a term of two years, two for a term of three years, and two for a term of four years, all appointments thereafter being for four years. The superintendent of public instruction is ex officio secretary of the board. Consists of 11 members.

*Department of engineering.*—W. F. McClure appointed by the governor, by and with the consent of the senate, February 13, 1912. Consulting river board appointed by the governor by and with the consent of the senate; term at pleasure of appointive power. Other appointments are made by the State engineer; term at pleasure of appointive power. Appointments made by State engineer must be confirmed by the advisory board.

The department exercises a general supervision over all constructive work carried on at every State institution except the University of California. In addition to the office force, inspectors are kept in the field wherever work is in progress. Inspectors are appointed by the State engineer, and their salaries are determined by the advisory board. Members of the advisory board and the consulting river board are allowed their necessary traveling expenses.

The act creating the department of engineering abolished the following departments in State government: Commissioner of public works, department of highways, auditing board to the commissioner of public works, debris commissioner, and Lake Tahoe wagon-road commissioner.

*California highway commission of the department of engineering.*—Consists of three commissioners, appointed by the governor, to hold office at the pleasure of the governor.

*Board of fish and game commissioners.*—Branch office Forum Building, Sacramento, Cal.

*State board of forestry.*—Appointed by the governor; consists of three members.

*State board of health.*—Appointed by the governor by and with the consent of the senate. Term of office, four years. No pay. Consists of seven members.

*State commissioner of horticulture.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. State Insectary, Capitol Park, Sacramento, Cal.

*Board of medical examiners of the State of California.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, two years. (Stats. 1907, p. 252; 1909, p. 418, 1911, p. 1449; 1913, p. 1220.) Consists of ten members.

*Trustees of State mineral cabinet.*—Appointed by the governor. Term at pleasure of the governor. No pay. Consists of three members. Location: Crocker Art Gallery, Second and O Streets, Sacramento.

*Reclamation board.*—Appointed by the governor. Term at the pleasure of the governor. Seven members. (Stats. 1913, chap. 170.)

*State registration board.*—(Stats. 1911, p. 1306.) Consists of three members. Office, State Fair Grounds, Sacramento. Laws for the regulations of horse breeding on scientific lines have long been advocated by the best authorities, but it is only within the last eight years that a serious attempt has been made to secure a larger supply of well-bred horses of recognized breeds. The first step in this direction was taken by the State of Wisconsin in 1896; since then each year has seen an advance in the number of States joining in this important improvement, and at the present time over 18 of them have enacted stallion regulation laws.

*Board of Sutter's Fort trustees.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. No pay. (Stats. 1891, p. 25.) Four members. office, Sutter's Fort, Sacramento, Cal.

*State veterinarian.*—Appointed by the governor. Term four years. (Stats. 1899, p. 129; 1909, p. 431.)

*State superintendent of weights and measures.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. (Chap. 597, 1913.)

*State commission in lunacy.*—Reorganized; statute 1909. Consists of five members and has charge of all the State hospitals under the direction of a general superintendent, who is appointed by the governor.

*Bureau of labor statistics.*—Branch office.

*State water commission.*—Branch office.

#### SAN FRANCISCO.

In this city are located a number of the most important courts, commissions, departments, and boards of the State government. They are distributed throughout the city in rented rooms in office buildings, and as these locations are not permanent, and many of them are badly in need of more room, it will be impossible to give a description of the archives and records in them. All of their records are current and in daily use by them.

The State is now erecting in San Francisco, at an expense of \$1,000,000, a building in which all of these various departments will secure permanent offices in the near future.

*Supreme court.*—Wells Fargo Building, Second and Mission Streets, San Francisco. Consists of seven members elected for a term of 12 years. The clerk of the supreme court is appointed and holds office at the pleasure of the court.

*District courts of appeal, first appellate district.*—Court meets at Wells Fargo Building, Second and Mission Streets, San Francisco. Consists of three justices elected for a term of 12 years.

*Railroad commission.*—Consists of five members, appointed by the governor. Term six years. (Stats., extra session, 1911, p. 22.) Office: Tenth floor, Commercial Building, 833 Market Street, San Francisco. Branch office, Bullard Block, Los Angeles.

*State board of accountancy.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. No salary, but mileage while attending sessions of the board. Consists of five members. (Stats., 1901, p. 645.) Office, 311 California Street, San Francisco.

*State board of architecture.*—Northern district: Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. (Stats., 1901, p. 541.) Consists of four members. Office, 1039, 1040 Phelan Building, San Francisco. Southern district: Office, 721 American Bank Building, Los Angeles, Cal. Consists of five members.

*State banking department.*—Superintendent of banks, appointed by the governor, and holds office at the pleasure of the governor. (Stats., 1901, p. 7.) Office, Postal Telegraph Building, San Francisco.

*Building and loan associations.*—Consists of one superintendent appointed by the governor. Term, at the pleasure of the governor. (Stats., 1911, p. 607.) (Extra session, 1911, p. 6.) Office, 604-606 Claus Spreckels Building, San Francisco.

*State board of charities and corrections.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. No pay. (Stats., 1911, ch. 683.) Consists of seven members. Office, 1007 Phelan Building, San Francisco.

*Conservation commission.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, at the pleasure of the governor. No compensation. Consists of three members. Office, Room 102 Mills Building, San Francisco.

*State dairy bureau.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. No pay. (Stats., 1897, p. 68.) Consists of three members. Office, 525 California Street, San Francisco.

*State board of dental examiners.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. No pay. (Stats., 1901, p. 564.) Consists of seven members. Room 401, 133 Geary Street, San Francisco.

*State dental surgeon.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. Office, 162 Post Street, San Francisco.

*State board of embalmers.*—Consists of five members. Term, four years. No pay. (Ch. 71, Stats., 1915.)

*Board of fish and game commissioners.*—Consists of three members. Head office, 734 Mills Building, San Francisco. Appointed by the governor, by and with the consent of the senate. Term, at the pleasure of the governor. No pay.

*Board of State harbor commissioners.*—Appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. Term, at the pleasure of the governor. (Political Code, secs. 1002, 52520.) Consists of three members. Office, Ferry Building, San Francisco.

*Homeopathic Medical Society of the State of California.*—Consists of nine members, appointed by the governor. Office, Head Building, San Francisco.

*California historical survey commission.*—Consists of three members; one named by the governor, one by the regents of University of California, and one by the grand officers of the Native Sons of the Golden West. No compensation. Term, two years. (Ch. 763, Stats., 1915.) Office, Humboldt Bank Building, San Francisco.

*Commission of immigration and housing.*—Consists of five members, appointed by the governor. Term, at the pleasure of the governor. No pay. (Stats., 1913, 608.) Office, Underwood Building, San Francisco.

*Industrial-accident commission.*—Composed of three members, appointed by the governor. (Stats., 1913, ch. 176.) Office, Underwood Building, San Francisco.

*Industrial welfare commission.*—Consists of five members, appointed by the governor. Term, four years. No pay. (Stats., 1913, p. 632.) Office, Underwood Building, San Francisco.

*Insurance commissioner.*—Appointed by the governor, with the consent of the senate. Term, two years. Room 909, 201 Sansome Street, San Francisco.

*Bureau of labor statistics.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, at pleasure of the governor. (Stats., 1913, p. 382.) Main office, 948 Market Street, San Francisco.

*Officers of the Medical Society, State of California.*—Consists of 16 members, appointed by the governor. Office, Butler Building, San Francisco.

*State mineralogist.*—Appointed by the governor. Holds office at the pleasure of the governor. (Stats., 1913, ch. 769.) Office, Ferry Building, San Francisco.

*Osteopathic Association of the State of California.*—Consists of eight members. Office, San Francisco.



*Advisory pardon board.*—Consists of four members. Office, Mills Building, San Francisco.

*State board of pharmacy.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. (Stats., 1907, p. 766.) Consists of seven members. Office of board, 909, 910 Butler Building, Geary and Stockton Streets, San Francisco.

*Pilot commissioners.*—Appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. Term, at the pleasure of the governor. San Francisco, Mare Island, Vallejo, and Benicia. Office, 311 Merchants' Exchange Building, San Francisco.

*Port wardens.*—Consists of two members. Office, 110 Market Street, San Francisco.

*Veterans' Home of California.*—Consists of nine members. Location of Veterans' Home, Napa County. Office, 333 Kearney Street, San Francisco.

*State water commission.*—Consists of three members. Main office, room 702, Mills Building, San Francisco.

*University of California.*—Location of university, Berkeley, Cal., with branches in San Francisco. Board of regents consists of 24 members, 16 of whom are appointed by the governor. The others are ex officio members.

*State Normal School, San Francisco.*—Consists of eight members, appointed by the governor.

*State board of prison directors.*—Consists of five members; appointed by the governor. Office, Room 13 Ferry Building, San Francisco.

#### LOS ANGELES.

In this city some of the boards and commissions of the State have located branch offices. They are in different office buildings in the city.

*District courts of appeal, second appellate district.*—Consists of three members, elected for 12 years. Office, International Bank Building, Los Angeles.

*State board of architecture, southern district.*—Office, 510 Consolidated Realty Building, Los Angeles.

*Bureau of labor statistics.*—Branch office, 812 Higgins Building, Los Angeles.

*California State motor-vehicle department.*—Branch office, Los Angeles.

*Pilot commissioners—San Pedro and Wilmington.*—Office, City Hall, Los Angeles.

*State Normal School, Los Angeles.*—Consists of eight members; appointed by the governor.

*Whittier State School.*—Post-office address: Whittier, Los Angeles County, Cal. Consists of three members; appointed by the governor.

*California School for Girls.*—Post-office address: Whittier, Los Angeles County, Cal. Board of trustees consists of five members, all women, appointed by the governor.

*Railroad commission.*—Branch office, Bullard Block, Los Angeles.

*Electrical Medical Society for the State of California.*—Consists of six members. Its offices are located at 337½ South Hill Street, Los Angeles.

These different State institutions are located in the cities as designated herein:

*Board of Colton Hall trustees.*—Consists of three members; appointed by the governor. This board has charge of certain historical properties situated at Monterey, where the first constitution of the State was adopted in 1849.

*Harbor commissioners for the port of Eureka.*—Consists of four members; appointed by the governor. Office, Eureka.

*Harbor commissioners for the Bay of San Diego.*—Consists of four members. Office, San Diego.

*Harbor commissioners for the port of San Jose.*—Consists of three members. Office, 257 North Market Street, San Jose.

*Bureau of labor statistics.*—Branch office, 202 McNeece Building, San Diego.

*Guardian of Marshall's Monument.*—At Coloma, the place where gold was first discovered by Marshall, and to commemorate the same the State of California has built a life-size monument of the discoverer of gold in California.

*Board of Monterey customhouse trustees.*—Consist of five members; appointed by the governor to have charge of the old Monterey customhouse, the first American customhouse in the State of California, which is located at Monterey.

*California State board of examiners in optometry.*—Consists of three members; appointed by the governor. Office, Fresno.

*Pilot commissioners, harbor of San Diego.*—Consists of two members. Office, San Diego.

*California State Redwood Park commission.*—Appointed by the governor. Term, four years. Composed of four members, with the governor ex-officio and chairman. No pay. (Stats., 1911, p. 8.)

The California State Redwood Park consists of 8,400 acres, of which 2,500 acres are virgin redwood. Situated in Santa Cruz County. The park is crossed by numerous streams, which are bordered by ferns, mosses, and water plants. It is under the direction of a warden, whose headquarters are located on Opal Creek near the center of the basin-shaped park. This park is maintained by the State of California for its people, and all visitors are welcomed there during the summer months. It is connected by a road, 300 feet wide

and 12 miles long, with Saratoga and San Jose. The offices of the commission are in Santa Cruz.

*State board of examiners in veterinary medicine.*—Consists of five members. Office, 616 I Street, Fresno.

*Woman's Relief Corps Home Association of California.*—Location of home, Evergreen, Santa Clara County; board of directors consisting of 11 members. Term, 2 years, to serve without compensation. (Stats., 1917, p. 702.) Office, 469 Crescent Street, Oakland.

*The university farm.*—Post-office address, Davis, Yolo County. The university farm school offers a three years' course in agriculture to young men who do not care to take a college course. The school opened in January, 1909, and the school year is about eight months in length. It is under the direction of the board of regents of the University of California.

*State normal schools.*—Are located at San Jose, Chico, San Diego, Fresno, Arcata, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Each is conducted by board of trustees appointed by the governor.

*California Polytechnic School, San Luis Obispo.*—The board of trustees consists of seven members; appointed by the governor.

*California School for the Deaf and the Blind.*—Location, Oakland. Under the control of a board of trustees, consisting of five members, appointed by the governor.

*Industrial Home of Mechanical Trades for the Adult Blind.*—Located at Oakland. Under the control of a board of directors, consisting of five members, appointed by the governor.

*State hospitals for the insane.*—Located as follows: Stockton, Napa, Agnews, Norwalk, Patton, Talmage and Eldridge, Sonoma County, and are under the control of boards of managers, consisting of five members each, appointed by the governor.

*Preston School of Industry.*—Located near Ione. Post office, Watterman, Amador County. Under the control of a board of directors, consisting of three members, appointed by the governor.



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APPENDIX B.

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REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF VERMONT.

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By AUGUSTUS HUNT SHEARER, Ph. D.,  
*Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.*



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## THE ARCHIVES OF VERMONT.

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By AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER.

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### INTRODUCTION.

The investigation of the Vermont archives, the results of which are noted in this report, was made by personal visitation in the summer of 1915 to the State capitol at Montpelier, and to other offices at Northfield, Waterbury, Essex Junction, and Burlington; and by correspondence with officials throughout the State from September, 1915, to April, 1916. The correspondence was made necessary because, although certain important records are at the statehouse, others are scattered throughout the State.

The aforesaid condition is due to two reasons. The first is the lack of room at the statehouse. The present capitol was built after the fire of 1857 had destroyed the second capitol. It is a domed marble building, which cannot house even all the offices that are in Montpelier. A wing to the west was added for the State library, the supreme court, and the attorney general's office. A new building, to cost \$150,000, has been authorized by the legislature and will be built east of the present building. This will accommodate the State library, the library commission, and the State board of education. It will give more room in the capitol for some offices and will allow others to locate there, but the care of archives is only an incidental part of the new arrangements. The other reason for the scattering of records, in part dependent on the lack of room, is the location of State offices all over the State, from the Canada line to the Massachusetts border, as, for instance, at Newport, Franklin, Lyndonville, St. Albans, Essex Junction, Burlington, Waterbury, Vergennes, Middlebury, Rutland, Northfield, White River Junction, Bellows Falls, and Brattleboro. The officials live at home, because salaries are small and personal interests are large; and as distances are not great, comparatively speaking, trips can be made to the capitol whenever necessary. Moreover, long incumbencies and the traditions of certain office-holding families have associated offices with other places than the capitol. It is a matter of interest to note that the present governor is the first one who has kept an all-year-round office at Montpelier.

The result of all this is that the care of the public papers has been very varied. There is no general law for archives, even for those at the capitol. The statutes with regard to different offices sometimes refer to keeping records, occasionally stating where they are to be kept. But in general the matter depends on the official, and probably the majority of records outside of the capitol are in wooden cases in nonfireproof buildings. The records that have to do with taxing and finance in general are most conveniently kept and most safely secured. As to destruction of records, also, there is variation. Some cases are known of those destroyed by fire; it is likely that some papers are now rotting or crumbling; and it is certain that some papers have been consciously destroyed (especially when offices were moved). While it is probable that the lost papers of Vermont would have little value compared with those preserved, still there are some very valuable ones known to be gone, and there may be something worth while in some of those poorly cared for now.

As there has been but little serious investigation of Vermont history in recent years (with exceptions as to financial history), the lack of active provision and convenient arrangement has not been noted, while the courtesy and helpfulness of all officials remedy many deficiencies.

The main collections are in the State capitol, Montpelier. The fact that the old statehouse was burned accounts largely for the lack of many records prior to 1857. There are commodious vaults for the secretary of state's office, the treasurer, the auditor, and the adjutant general; there is also a large vault in the basement and safes in other offices, while the building itself is not readily combustible. Unfortunately, however, the overflow of papers is stored in the cellar and the dome, both good places for a fire to get headway, and which would endanger the rest of the building; moreover, both are good places for complete destruction of papers. Throughout there is a good deal of wood used in filing cases, etc., but some offices are well equipped with steel files.

In the following description the secretary of state's office will be given first, as there are contained in its vaults very important historical papers and papers pertaining to many different offices. After that the offices, boards, etc., will be arranged alphabetically by titles as nearly correct as it has been possible to obtain them. If no location is mentioned, the capitol at Montpelier will be assumed.

There will be noted the names of a great number of commissions, commissioners, and other abolished offices, for most of which no papers have been found. While some of these were very temporary in character and did nothing more than what their published report indicated, others have taken evidence and received reports which were of great value, and the loss of their papers is very unfortunate.

The inclusion of dead offices with no papers may seem to be enlarging the report unnecessarily, but, as there is not to be found anywhere a list of offices, commissions, etc., this may, perhaps, serve as a basis for such a list. Although extended search was made, there is no pretence that this list is complete; but it is more complete than any that can be found in catalogues, bibliographies, or manuals.

Much of value appears in the printed reports of the different offices and commissions, now generally appearing biennially; before 1870, annually. These will in general serve the purpose of the historical investigator; but there is still a good deal in the secretary of state's and adjutant general's offices which is of importance and has not been printed. Note is made of the fact where it is the custom to print reports.

Further comments appear in the course of the description.

Acknowledgment must be made and is made gratefully of the assistance rendered by various officials, including all those who wrote letters in response to inquiries about their office records. Especial note must be made of the assistance of Mr. Rawson C. Myrick, deputy secretary of state; of Mr. John M. Avery, legislative reference librarian; of the State library; and of Mr. Benjamin Gates, secretary of civil and military affairs.

## OFFICES.

### SECRETARY OF STATE.

This office contains the most valuable papers for the historical student, partly from the nature of the office and partly because of the legal requirements that certain papers of other offices (especially governor's) be filed there. The papers are scattered. Most of them are in the vault leading off from the office, a vault which is too small for all the records. It is fitted with steel filing drawers, steel boxes, and steel roller shelves. Besides these, however, there are numerous pasteboard filing boxes and papers merely tied up in bundles. The arrangement of the papers most used (vital statistics and corporations) is convenient for the officials; as for the other papers, the deputy has a good knowledge of contents and locations. Besides this vault, many of the secretary's papers are in the big vault in the basement, while some are at the secretary's office at Essex Junction.

### I. VERMONT STATE PAPERS.

Large folio volumes labeled "Vermont State Papers" are on roller shelves underneath the filing cases on the east and north walls. These are important for the historian and contain some of the oldest records, many of which have not been printed. They are well

mounted and arranged, and are indexed in two large volumes. There are 42 volumes, as follows:

- 1-7. Laws (originals, pasted in), 1779 (label says 1789) to 1805. From 1805 the laws are kept in filing boxes (south wall). [Laws are printed 1779-date.]
- 8-11. Orders on treasurer 1-4 (1776-1780, 1781-1783, 1784-1790, 1791-1800).
- 12-16. Courts 1-5 (by counties, covering 1779-1798).
- 17-20. Petitions 1-4 (1777-1787, 1788-1792, 1793-1796, 1797-1799).
23. Grand list (1781-1798). This is the Vermont term for returns of property for taxation purposes.
24. Public letters (1781-1800). There is a Washington letter of date December 12, 1796, to the Vermont Senators (printed in Spark's Writings of Washington, xi, 174).
- 25-26. Credentials of members to general assembly 1-2 (1791-1795, 1796-1799).
27. Extents. lv. (c. 1781-1800). These are writs to sheriffs to put in jail constables delinquent for taxes.
- 28-29. Constables' certificates 1-2 (c. 1787-1800). Various towns arranged alphabetically.
- 30-31. Resolutions of assembly, 1778-1799. After 1800 filed with acts in filing boxes.
- 32-3. Abatement of taxes. 2v.
- 34-6. Commissary's receipts. 3v. (Forts Fortitude and Defiance, 1783; Fort Wait, 1783; Fort Warren, 1783.)
37. Confiscations. (1777-1782.)
38. Miscellaneous. (1777-1799.)
39. Treasurer's miscellany. (1777-1799.)
40. Wolf certificates. (1773-1799.) Bounties for wolves killed.
41. Debentures of assembly and council. (1778-1800.)
42. Bonds (c. 1777-1799, not in chronological order).

Besides the above volumes so marked as "State papers," the engrossed laws are in folio volumes, from 1779 to date; these are kept on the roller shelves along the north and west walls.

There are also some papers of similar nature, kept in volumes on shelves on the north wall. These are marked Stevens papers, 1739-1775; Stevens papers, v. 1-3, 1775-1777; the rest, 1778-1791, "lost to State" (in N. Y. State Library and mostly burned in March, 1911); index to Stevens papers; Stevens papers, Haldemand, 1, 2; Stevens papers, Ethan Allen, 1770-1786; records of board of war, 1779-1781.

## II. SURVEYOR GENERAL'S PAPERS AND OTHERS SIMILAR.

The papers of the surveyor general's office (1779-1838) are also very valuable. These are very varied in character and source. Some were presented to the State by descendants, some were gathered by Henry Stevens and sold to New York State Library about 1870-1875. "Here they remained until, in pursuance of a resolution of the assembly of 1900, Gov. Stickney and State Librarian Huse waited upon the New York librarian and procured their return to the office

of the Vermont secretary, May 15, 1902." The State of Vermont proposes to print these, and appropriated \$2,000 a year for 1913 and 1914. This was not used, so the money was reappropriated for 1915 and 1916. As there is not sufficient help in the secretary of state's office to prepare these for the press, it is uncertain whether the work will be done in the next biennium. Mr. F. H. Dewart, civil engineer, Burlington, is preparing an index, but as it is uncertain when it will be published, and as it differs slightly from the following, a detailed description will not be out of place here.

The volumes covering the numbers 1-10 are on lower shelves along the east wall.

Vol. 1, 2. Miscellaneous.

Vol. 3-9. Field books.

Vol. 10. Copies from the field books of surveys of the town lines of Vermont as made by the surveyor general and his deputies. This volume "was deposited in the State department by James Whitelaw in 1806. By act of assembly in 1809 it was delivered to Gen. Joseph Beeman to copy and was not returned. It was recovered by Henry Stevens, January, 1847, and again deposited in the State department (Henry Stevens)." The papers are all mounted between silk.

General index to the 10 volumes by Ira Allen, James Whitelaw, and Joseph Beeman.

Also, unnumbered, charters granted by New Hampshire (copies); charters granted by Vermont, vols. 1 and 2 in one; vol. 3, plans.

There are also with these volumes two others, general list of Vermont, 1827; Vermont statehouse grounds, plans, etc. Dewart.

On the north wall, on upper shelves, are volumes 11-43, some merely sheets of paper, others large bound copybooks (blank books). These are practically all Stevens's volumes, the present number having been put on since being received at the statehouse.

11. Granby rate book, 1791. 12° pamphlet.

12. "The Vermont Land Register, being a complete index to the public newspapers which have been printed in this State, and containing the substance of all land advertisements. To which are added in many of the towns a list of the land forfeited at vendue, extracted from," etc. Recorded by Eben W. Judd. 1761-1806. Bound. Stevens number, 249; Vermont towns, 1.

13. Extracts from deeds, 1802, Williston, Jericho, Waterbury, Middlesex, Bolton, Duxbury, New Haven, by Judd. Stevens, 252; Vermont papers, 4, 1773-1800.

14. Dr. Judd's land-office register of deeds in Averill; Avery's grant (Troy), 1 cent tax (of 1797 and 1798); Belvidere, 1 cent tax; Bristol; Coventry, 1 cent tax; Duncansboro; Eden, 1 cent tax; Enosburgh, 1 cent tax; Irasburgh; Jay; 1 cent tax; Johnson, all deeds from 1788-1803; Kelly's grant (Troy), 1 cent tax; Kellyvale, 1 cent tax; Knight's gore, 1 cent tax; Knoulton's gore; Lemington (1776-1818) conveyances, notes, surveys; Lutterton, 1 cent tax; Richford, 1 cent tax; Smithfield, 1 cent tax; Sterling, 1 cent tax; Westfield, 1 cent tax; Weybridge, all deeds, 1762-1802. Bound.

15. Joel Doolittle's synopsis (made 1802) of deeds recorded in Georgia, Goshen, Highgate, Plainfield, Richford, St. Alban's, Stannard, Swanton; schedule of Onion River Co. lands in Burlington, Jericho, Shelburne, Essex, Colchester,

New Huntington, Swanton, Highgate, Williston, Charlotte, Georgia. Bound. Stevens, 251; Vermont papers, 3, 1773-1799. On cover, "Dr. Eben W. Judd?"

16. Steven Pearl's (collector) records of vendue. One-half pence tax of October, 1791. Chittenden Co. Bound.

17. Towns alphabetically with lists of advertisements of sale in newspapers. Stevens, 263; Vermont towns, 15, 1817-1833. Covered with leather.

18. [Mostly] Judd's abstracts of vendues. 10 parts. Loose.

19. Surveyor general's official copy of New Hampshire grants. Bound. Stevens, 268; Vermont, 20, 1761-1780.

20. James Whitelaw's book. An advertisement pasted in says that Whitelaw kept a register of all proprietor's meetings and vendue sales and all lands sold or to be sold for taxes, and whether lost or redeemable. This book is evidently his register. Bound. Stevens, 271; Vermont towns, 24.

21. Acts and laws of the State of Vermont concerning the title of lands, taken from the public records by Dr. Eben W. Judd, 1801; also Judd *vs.* Fitch and Hawley; also Judd *vs.* Paine (1803), breach of trust as an attorney; also Leonard *vs.* Judd (1816). Bound. Stevens, 196; miscellaneous 36, 1802.

22. Guildhall. Proprietor's records. Bound. Stevens, 264; Vermont towns, 16.

23. 1, Deeds and vendues in Georgia, 1773-1808; 2, deeds and vendues in Jericho, 1793-1802; 3, lands forfeited on account of the  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. tax and other taxes, 1794, 1795, 1798; 4, Williston, 1802, deeds; 5, lands in charge of Whitelaw land office. Bound together. Stevens, 254; Vermont papers, 6.

24. Sales of lands for direct taxes. Committees' advertisement for labor and proprietors' collectors' notices of proprietors' taxes. Oblong, bound. Stevens, 262; Vermont towns, 14, 1791-1816.

25. Weybridge. Memorandum book. 1802. Stevens, 261; Vermont towns, 13.

26. Joel Doolittle; abstracts of early deeds in Cornwall, Goshen, Ferrisburgh, Hancock, Leicester, Charlotte, Bolton, Whiting, Weybridge, Stacksboro, Shoreham, Bristol, Panton, New Haven, Monkton, Middlebury, Lincoln, Johnson, Milton, Georgia.

26<sup>1</sup>. Avery's gore, Bull's gore, Bristol, Brownington, Coventry, Derby, Duncansboro, Eden, Georgia, Glover, Holland, Morristown, New Haven, Salem, Westfield, Weybridge.

26<sup>2</sup>. Concord, Elmore, Eden, memorandum for Doolittle, Waterbury, Milton (various others), Ryegate, Bound. Stevens, 190; miscellaneous, 30, 1785-1802.

27. John Johnson's field book of lotting. Proprietors' records. Westmore, etc. Stevens, 265. Also a lot of miscellaneous papers taken from the back of the book, including the Chittenden County Missionary Society records.

28. "Apparently papers of Gov. J. H. Jennison, surveyor of Shoreham, Vt." Map of Shoreham; other papers.

29. Memorandum book, being the diary and accounts of Eben W. Judd, 1794-95. Bound. A very interesting diary.

30. Journal of survey to the Upper Coos. 1786. Bound.

31. Judd accounts, 1794-95. Unbound.

32. Judd journal, 1800. "Began in Woodstock prison."

33. A, Surveys in Maidstone; B, Surveys in Lemington.

34. Jericho. History of grantees' names in the town of Jericho, Vt., 1773-1802.

35. Judd. Accounts and memoranda, 1795-1797.

36. Burlington proprietors' records, Salisbury, May 23, 1774. (Run to 1783.)

37. Onion River, Bolton, Middlesex, Waterbury, surveys, 1770.

38. Middlebury vendue. Proprietors and numbers.

39. Swanton. A few sheets, 12<sup>o</sup>.



40. Ira Allen, miscellaneous surveys, 1770-, Chittenden County.

41. Miscellaneous. El. fo. (East wall.)

42. Copies of N. Y. grants.

43, 43A, 43B. Guildhall road surveys, S. S. Judd.

These are all of the numbered volumes, but there are also some volumes containing similar material as follows:

Whitelaw plans and papers, v. 1, "presented by Capt. Albert Whitelaw, of Ryegate, great grandson of James Whitelaw, former surveyor general." East wall.

Whitelaw papers, letter book 2 (2A on back), with 2,000 letters, 1806-1814. North wall.

Claims for lands granted by New York (in Vermont), presented before the New York commissioners, 1797. Record of mining and quarry rights. South wall.

### III. VITAL RECORDS.

These include births, marriages, deaths, and divorces. The first three are sent to the board of health at Burlington by the town clerks every month and filed with the secretary of state at the end of the year. Divorces are reported each year by the county clerks. The statistics are tabulated and published by the board of health (by the secretary of state, 1857-1896); the records are permanently kept by the secretary of state.

Up to 1857 it was not compulsory to preserve vital records, but in some towns they were well kept, owing to the personal desire of the town clerk, or town requirement, or desires of leading families. A law in 1856 required that returns be made by the town clerks to the secretary of state; these were bound in folio volumes and are kept in the lower vault (1857-1908; except 1866, missing). Since 1908 the records are on cards, filed in steel boxes, on the east wall of the office vault. The books are arranged by years; the cards by towns. There is no index, but a record can be found if the town and year are known. Since about 1860, therefore, there are nearly complete records; before that, varying, some towns going back to 1760, others with no records. Altogether there are about 1,500,000 names. An index is needed.

### IV. OTHER PAPERS.

The three collections thus far described are the largest and most important, but there is also much else of historical interest. This will be mentioned under the heads of assembly, constitution, elections, governor, appointments, corporations, taxes, licenses, miscellaneous. The location of each lot will be indicated; where not otherwise mentioned, the office vault will be meant.

#### *a. Assembly.*

Assembly journal 1770-1784. Folio volume. South wall. (Printed.)

Joint assembly journal, 1836 (when senate was established) to 1910, 10 volumes, and volume for 1878 separate. South wall. (Printed.)

"List of offices 1824-1835." This gives the officers whose appointment lay in the assembly. Each year, appointments are recorded in a small book, and all are bound together. The title on each year is "Joint Committee Journal." South wall.

Joint committee journal, 1815-1831; 1832-1843. 2 volumes. Covers same as above. South wall.

Petition to assembly for relief of Norman Cleveland, 1830. North wall.

Copies of petitions; in large tin boxes, in lower vault. Those seen with dates, 1802, 1804, 1808, 1818-1826, 1827-1837. Other boxes without dates. (These are assumed to be petitions to assembly.)

Legislative bills, 1803-1824. Lower vault.

House journal, 1910-11, 2 volumes; 1912-13, 2 volumes. South wall on top of shelves. (Printed.)

Senate journal 1904, 2 volumes; 1910-11, 2 volumes. South wall on top of shelves. (Printed.)

House bill book. 1874, 1906 (only years seen). South wall.

House yea and nay book. 1870. South wall.

List of joint resolutions and acts received in the secretary of state's office, 1898. (Later printed; not important.) South wall.

#### *b. Constitutions, etc.*

The constitution of Vermont proposed by the council of censors, 1792, with letter of R. Hopkins transmitting to the convention. Mounted and bound. North wall. (Printed.)

Constitution of 1793 engrossed and amendments of 1828. North wall. (Printed.)

Journal of council of censors 1813-14. North wall. (Printed.)

Credentials, constitutional convention, 1870, proposed amendments, papers and reports relating to "Revised Laws"; papers are constitutional amendments, 1913; filing boxes.

No other material relating to constitutional conventions or the council of censors was found.

#### *c. Elections.*

In the lower vault, certificates of the election of representatives, 1855-1884; election returns 1854-1866 incomplete, 1867 complete; election returns, representatives, 1804-?; contested elections; petitions; soldiers' votes, 1864.

In filing boxes on the north wall of the office vault, certificates of votes for electors, 1848, 1864, 1868, 1872, 1876, 1880; proceedings of electors, 1912; certificates of votes, canvass of votes, county offices, 1914; same, congressmen, 1914; nomination papers, 1910-1912, State committees; presidential direct primary certificates canvass, 1914.

#### *d. Governors' papers.*

Journal of governors and council, 1777-1835, 12 volumes; various sizes. (Printed by E. P. Walton, 1873-1880, in 8 volumes.) South wall.

Journal of governor and council, 1831. North wall.

Secretary of the governor's and council's record of the appointment of civil and military officers of the State of Vermont, 1800-1819. North wall.

Various papers in pasteboard filing boxes (not in cases), arranged according to governors; applications for pardons; certificates of officials' oaths; justices of the peace resignations, appointments, receipts for commissions; reports of persons conditionally pardoned. These are in various places in the secretary of state's office vault.

*e. Appointments, officers, etc.*

Notary public certificates, 1910-1912. 3 volumes. West wall.  
 Notaries and masters in chancery appointments, 1849. Lower vault.  
 Justice commissions, 1902, Gov. McCullogh; list of justices, 1912-1914. Filing boxes.

Civil officers, 1802-1820; lower vault. South wall filing boxes.

*f. Corporation papers.*

All in bound volumes in office vault. South wall.  
 Corporation records, 10 volumes. (Principally articles of association.)  
 Private corporations, list of certificates of paid-up capital stock, 1860-[1901].  
 Corporations, certificates of increase of capital stock, volume 1.  
 Corporations, change of name and domicile, volume 1.  
 Corporations, certificates, 1903-.  
 Records relating to railroad companies, volumes 1, 2, 1901-.  
 Record of incorporation of independent local churches, 1889- (since law of that date).  
 Record of trade-marks and names, volume 1-3, 1894-date.

*g. Taxes and finance, papers relating to.*

General list, 1800. Modern binding. South wall; narrow pockets.  
 General list, 1800, 1814, 1816, 1817. South wall; pockets.  
 Registry of State bonds, 1861, issued under the act of April, 1861. South wall.  
 Registry of State bonds, 1862, issued under the act of November, 1862. South wall.  
 Grand list abstracts, 1867-1872. Lower vault filing case.  
 Returns relating to taxation.  
 Grand list abstracts, 1914. Filing box.  
 Return of tax rates, 1894. North wall.  
 Taxes assessed, 1911-1913. Filing box.

*h. Licenses, certificates, etc.*

All in bound volumes on south wall of office vault, except as otherwise noted.  
 Optometry licenses. 2 volumes.  
 Medical licenses, volume 2 (and 1 other).  
 Dental licenses, volume 3 (and 2 others).  
 Registration of nurses, volume 1.  
 State board of pharmacy, 1895- (certificates to date).  
 Veterinary licenses, volumes 1 and 2.  
 Liquor licenses, 1915. Filing box.  
 Licenses (some). Lower vault.

*i. Miscellaneous.*

Invoice and sale of consignments, 1835-36. South wall.  
 Journal (binder's title)—i. e., accounts 1897-. South wall.  
 Oath books, governor and lieutenant governor, 1854-1896; State officers', 1898-1915, south wall; senate and representatives, 1900, 1906, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1915, north wall; bonds and oaths, filing box; oath books, miscellaneous lot, perhaps 15, in dome.  
 Miscellaneous appointments, bonds, oaths, etc. 1 volume. Lower vault, west wall.  
 Miscellaneous records, 1911. 1 volume. South wall.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

to the State of Vermont, 1909— (chiefly Billings's estate).

acts of sequestered land. Lower vault, south wall, filing cases.  
abstract of tiles, Townshend property. South wall; pocket.  
Deeds and leases. North wall; filing box.  
Record of textbooks ordered received and distributed. 1887. South wall;  
pocket.  
Letters, various, unbound, about 12. North wall.  
John Howe's letter book, 1803-4. North wall.  
Maple-sugar trees, etc.; automobile convictions; masters in chancery, files  
1912. Filing boxes.  
Statehouse, visitors register, old. Dome.  
Superintendent Vermont statehouse ledger, 1836-1837. North wall.  
Statehouse building accounts and contracts. North wall.  
Contracts, specifications, etc., reventilating system. Filing box.  
State causes, 1833; sheriff and jail commitments, 1829; returns from town  
treasurers, sheriffs, jailers, State attorneys, county auditors, 1861-1882. Lower  
vault.  
County officers, 1850 [?]. Lower vault.  
Writs, 1891-1910; censuses. Filing boxes.  
Road mileage, 1909-10; 1911-12. Lower vault, south wall, boxes.

It will be seen from the foregoing description that there is a great variation in the completeness and arrangement of the archives. Some—as the vital statistics (despite the lack of an index), the "State papers," and the surveyor general's papers—are arranged in order and with a due regard to making available all that are extant. Other kinds are scattered in different places; and, while the classification made here may be faulty, it is at least an attempt to bring under the same heading papers scattered in different positions in the same vault and in different vaults. Other records have imperfect or misleading labels. Still others appear only in scattered years, and no one knows whether other years can be found, if, indeed, they are in existence, for this investigation itself brought to light some things not known before. And, finally, other records have disappeared entirely, as the journals of the councils of censors, and no one in Vermont even knows that they are not in existence.

ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL.

This office is on the first floor of the statehouse, and is provided with a commodious vault. Some papers are also to be found in the lower vault. The present adjutant general lives in St. Albans, but has only current matter there, and brings it down frequently to the statehouse. Much of the roster material has been printed and done well. The books and papers do not overcrowd the vault and are easy to find. The folio volumes of records are numbered, and so are the steel filing boxes. Reports of this office have been published from 1839 to date.

## RECORD BOOKS NUMBERED 1-78.

*Civil War.*

1-9, town-credit books. "Town credits" was printed by Washburn, 1864-65, and gave the roster from each town. "The revised roster" was made up from this book, from town-credits volumes, and from all separate papers. (Compiled by T. S. Peck; published 1892.)

10-18, reports and accounts of medical and recruiting officers.

19-22, hospital records.

29-30, 37, adjutant general roster of Vermont volunteers.

31-36, letters.

38-41, 44-45, "records."

42, 43, town quota's ledger.

*Revolutionary War.*

46, index to Revolutionary service.

47, index to pay rolls.

48, Revolutionary service.

49-50, Revolutionary rolls (published 1904).

*War of 1812 and Plattsburgh records; indexes.*

Rolls: A few originals covered with silk, mounted well in an elephant-folio volume. These the only ones not destroyed in the statehouse fire. 1 volume.

Index to same, "Vermont rolls, 1812-1815."

There are two volumes of affidavits. By act of 1849, relative to payment for 1812 services, it was provided that affidavits should be taken of survivors concerning members of companies. These affidavits were made mostly in 1850. Volume 2 is marked "Plattsburgh volunteers."

Index, "Plattsburgh volunteers, 1814."

One volume of "detached records"—i. e., of detachments. This had been copied, so was preserved. The volumes contain the aggregate of expenses, \$39,476.96, paid by the United States Government. It contains also the militia records of 1838-39 during fear of Canadian troubles.

Index volume: Military expeditions, 1812, 1838, and 1839.

Index volume: Captains, 1812-1815.

The legislature has made appropriations for publishing the War of 1812 records, but the work has not been undertaken, owing to other duties.

*Militia.*

58. Roster of uniform militia. This covers the 1840's, when there were several regiments of militia.

59. Vermont militia, 1839-1853.

60, 62, 64-66, 70. Militia; 67-68, enrolled militia, 1863; 69, militia, 1864.

61. "Roster of Vermont, commander in chief."

63. Seventh Regiment.

71. National Guard.

72-76. Adjutant general's office. Orders, volumes 1-5.

78. Record of commissions.

*Mexican War.*

There were no organizations from Vermont in the Mexican War. Vermont men served either in United States or Massachusetts regiments.

*War with Spain.*

Adjutant general's roster of Vermont volunteers (one regiment). This is to be printed.

Also muster-out rolls, Vermont volunteers, 1861-1865, volumes 1-17. Ed. fo. Company records and orderly books.

## QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE.

This office was separate until 1900, when it was combined with the adjutant general, and the incumbent of the latter office was legislated out. One volume of "Accounts" is the only one seen relating to the quartermaster general's office. Published reports, 1855-1900.

The vault also contains steel filing cases. These contain enlistment contracts of the Vermont regiments during the Civil War and muster rolls. The enlistment contracts were not started until after the first six regiments were filled, so that for these the contracts are only of new recruits. After the Civil War 12 regiments of militia were kept, largely of Vermont regiments, from 1865 to 1867.

In the lower vault there are about 71 packages of papers, year by year, 1857-1906, including regiments in the Civil War, 1860-1867.

Various Grand Army of the Republic records are also filed in the upper vault; also printed journals of national encampments and department journals.

## AGENT FOR STATE AID [TO SOLDIERS' FAMILIES, CIVIL WAR.]

Reports published 1861-1866. No papers found.

## AGENT FOR VERMONT CONCERNING CLAIMS.

1842. Henry Stevens appointed agent and made a report dealing chiefly with the archives. No papers found.

## AGRICULTURE.

The various boards and officers dealing with this subject have been—

State board of agriculture, manufacturing, and mining. Act November 22, 1870-1876.

Board of agriculture. Act November 23, 1876-1878.

Superintendent of agricultural affairs. Act November 26, 1878-1880.

State board of agriculture. Act December 23, 1880-1908.

State board of agriculture and forestry. 1908.

Commissioner of agriculture and manufacturing interests. c. 1888-1890.

Commissioner of agriculture, 1908.

Cattle commission. Act December 10, 1902-1908.

Cattle commissioner, 1908-1913.

Live stock commissioner. Act February 13, 1913-.

## ASSEMBLY.

See General Assembly.

## ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Office created 1904. The attorney general has office room at the statehouse, but lives at Brattleboro, and has his office and most of his papers there. There are, however, in the room at the statehouse steel filing cases containing, correspondence 1914; correspondence with county officials, 1914; and "live" or "current" cases. There is a card index of live cases, showing the status of each case. In Brattleboro there is similar material, about which the assistant knows. In the office was a packing box full of papers from the predecessor of the present attorney general. When papers become obsolete they are packed away "somewhere."

(The above information was gained from an interview with the attorney general. The filing cases and packing box were seen, but no other papers in the statehouse.)

In response to a letter to the secretary it was stated that—

all papers and opinions on file here at Brattleboro that belong to the department of Attorney General are kept in a filing cabinet, and practically begin on the date of the present Attorney General's term of office, which was Dec. 1, 1914. Any material on file here previous to that date is material taken from the files at Montpelier, because those matters had not been closed by the present Attorney General's predecessor in office. These current papers and files are similar to such as are previous[ly] on file, that is, papers in connection with all criminal work which the Attorney General has had to do with, and opinions rendered by him to State officers in reference to their official duties.

## AUDITOR OF ACCOUNTS.

This office is very old; it was at first appointive, but has been elective since 1797. Reports have been published 1797 [?] to date. There are no records to amount to anything before 1857; those to the sixties not very complete. There is an office vault, and the lower vault and dome are used. Most of the records relate to State institutions, and files are kept in the office vault of papers and vouchers of State hospital (including commitments and discharges), House of Correction, Soldiers' Home, Industrial School, State Prison, Laboratory of Hygiene, State Agricultural College, State Normal School, Brattleboro Retreat. Older papers are kept in filing boxes in the lower vault and in big cases A, B, C.

There are also quarterly returns of county clerks and judges of probate; justices' returns of prosecutions; claims paid; purchasing agent. These in filing boxes in both office and lower vaults.

In the dome are two big wooden boxes marked "vouchers for noxious animals' bounties."

In the secretary of state's office vault is a folio volume marked "Auditor, v. 3."

Besides the above papers there is preserved for safe-keeping in the office vault a book of surveys by S. C. Craft, which belongs to Craftsbury Academy. It contains plots of certain towns. There is also a little book, "Roll of hands, Vermont Statehouse, 1836-37; A. B. Young, superintendent," which is interesting for the salaries paid.

#### BANK COMMISSIONER.

This office dates from 1906, but previous to that time the same work was done by the inspector of finance.

We use, in the work of the banking department, the ordinary blanks for making examinations by the commissioner and blanks for the banks to make statements periodically and at such times as called for by the bank commissioner. We have a card index of large borrowers, of treasurers' bonds, files for statements, reports, etc., and we issue special circulars at different times during the year upon questions and matter of interest to the bankers and the commissioner.—*Letter of F. C. Williams, bank commissioner.*

In the dome of the capitol are four big wooden boxes, marked "Bank correspondence and receipts."

#### BANK COMMISSIONERS.

Created by act of November 9, 1831. In 1857 these were abolished and duties given to auditor. Reports published in house journals, 1832-1837; senate journals, 1838-1842; house journal, 1843, 1844, 1848; in auditor of accounts reports, 1843-1867; occasionally in United States congressional documents; separately, 1843-1867. No papers found.

#### BOARD OF ACCOUNTANCY.

The board of accountancy has not been in existence for a long time, and the minute book and examination papers, and list of certifications and expense books, etc., are in my possession in my home town, Burlington, Vt. I am an accountant and auditor by profession, and my movements are uncertain, but it is my feeling that these should be in a place that would save them from fire. The minute book I have with me here.—*Letter from Franklin P. Cobb, secretary, Montgomery Center.*

#### BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

Created by act of November 28, 1876, succeeding board of agriculture, manufactures, and mining; succeeded by superintendent of agricultural affairs in 1878. Reports published, 1877-78. No papers found.

#### BOARD OF APPRAISERS OF BANK STOCK.

This consists of the State treasurer, bank commissioner, and commissioner of State taxes. The law requires that the board shall keep



its record in the office of commissioner of taxes in a book for the purpose.

The records are kept in a separate book in this office.—*Letter from Charles A. Plumley, commissioner of State taxes, Northfield.*

#### BOARD OF ARMORY COMMISSIONERS.

This board has no records which are of any historical value. The papers and records of the board pertain simply to the location of armories in the State.—*Letter from Le Roy A. Hall, captain, Q. M. C., for the adjutant general, St. Albans.*

#### BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

Created by act November 9, 1827. Published a report 1828. No papers found.

#### BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR PROMOTION OF UNIFORMITY OF LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Created by act 256, 1912. Three commissioners, serving without pay, and meeting annually with commissioners from other States. First report, 1915.

I have in my possession a considerable amount of data, forms of bills, reports of commissioners of other States, etc. Some of these papers are kept in my own vertical file and some are on my book shelves; none in my safe.—*Letter from Henry B. Shaw, secretary, Burlington.*

#### BOARD OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

The board was never organized and had no records. The services of this board were never asked for in any manner.—*Letter from F. E. Burgess, one of the original members of the board, Burlington.*

No reply was received from S. A. Richmond, Brattleboro, but others write that "the board has never performed any duty, and the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Burgess has never been filled."

#### BOARD OF DENTAL EXAMINERS.

The only records that we have in our possession are the reports of the meetings of the board from year to year; also a book containing the complete record of each candidate who has taken the examinations; also the original agreements establishing reciprocity with the several States with which we now have such relations.—*Letter from Dr. Harry F. Hamilton, secretary and treasurer, Newport.*

Reports, 1884—

#### BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Created by act of November 18, 1856. Existed until 1874; succeeded by State superintendent of education. Reports published 1857–1876. "Records" (i. e., minutes) in education department in capitol.

This is also the title of board which went out of existence in 1915. (See Education.)

#### BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

See State board of equalization.

#### BOARD OF EXAMINERS OF EMBALMERS.

The secretary of the board keeps all books, letters, and files pertaining to the work of the board. Has a record book of the meetings; all examination papers are on file, and a book of registration of all those who have been granted licenses. Previous to 1903 Vermont had no examination of undertakers and embalmers, but at that time the State board of health took over the work. All undertakers who were in business at that time and who applied for a license before January 1, 1903, were registered. After that date everyone who wished to practice embalming in this State had to pass an examination. In 1910 the board of examiners of embalmers was created.—*Letter from George H. Gorham, secretary, Bellows Falls.*

#### BOARD OF LIBRARY COMMISSIONERS.

Office, 34 Elm Street, Montpelier. The traveling libraries as well as the records are kept here.

The various records in filing cases are: Monthly reports since December, 1910, used in making up the biennial reports (printed); the registrar's report of business meetings (quarterly); correspondence between members of the board and the secretary (since December, 1910); biennial report question blank (for ninth and tenth reports; some previous ones in basement of statehouse); applications of libraries for "first aid" (some in basement); annual aid applications; correspondence with State institutions to which books are given, 1911—; traveling libraries; printed lists.

The commission publishes its biennial reports, 1896—; quarterly bulletin, 1905—; and aided in publishing "A Vermont Library—The Pomfret Library. Windsor, 1911."

In the basement of the statehouse are wooden packing boxes containing various papers of the commission.

#### BOARD OF NORMAL SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS.

1900–1908. Reports published 1902–1908. Duties passed to board of education. No papers found.

#### BOARD OF NORMAL SCHOOL EXAMINERS, COMMISSIONERS, AND SUPERVISORS.

Reports, 1894–1898. No papers found.

#### BOARD OF OSTEOPATHIC EXAMINATION AND REGISTRATION.

The record of licenses granted by our board is in possession of the secretary, as also correspondence and letters received by him in connection with the office.—*Letter from L. D. Martin, secretary Vermont State Board of Osteopathic Examination and Registration, Barre.*

## BOARD OF PENAL INSTITUTIONS.

This consists of three members. They are not required to keep any papers except what may be necessary for them in making their report. Of course, records of the institutions under their jurisdiction are kept in the offices of the respective institutions.—*Letter from Benjamin Gates, secretary of civil and military affairs, Montpelier.*

## BOARD OF PUBLIC PRINTING.

The board of public printing as it now is was created by the legislature of 1915, and its membership is made up of the governor, State treasurer, and auditor of accounts. The records of the board are kept in the governor's office at Montpelier.—*Letter from Benjamin Gates, secretary of civil and military affairs, Montpelier.*

## BOARD OF RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS.

Created by act 23, 1886; succeeded by public service commission, 1908, which see.

Reports, 1888-1908.

## \* BOARD OF REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

We keep record of all examination questions, but do not keep answers—that is, the examination books handed in by applicants. Beginning last year we are going to fill out a set of answers to all our questions and of course they will be kept. The secretary keeps all letters of importance. We have no copies of certificates, but all certificates are recorded at the statehouse. Records of all meetings are kept and recorded in secretary's book kept by her.—*Mary E. Schumacher, secretary, Brattleboro.*

## BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR STATE SCHOOL FOR FEEBLE-MINDED CHILDREN.

See State school for, etc.

## BOARD OF VETERINARY REGISTRATION AND EXAMINATION.

Two letters to Dr. J. C. Parker, president, St. Albans, brought certain papers—e. g., copy of examination for December, 1915, copy of act to regulate the practice of veterinary medicine, application for license, and certificate of license. A letter to Dr. Robert Weir, Rutland, brought a reply referring to the fact that Dr. George Stephens, of White River Junction, is the secretary of the board. A letter to Dr. Stephens brought no reply. These are all the members there are on the board.

## BOARD OF VISITORS TO NORWICH UNIVERSITY.

Have no minute books, correspondence files, etc. Our report is sent to the governor, to whom we are required to report.—*Letters from E. H. Edgerton, member of board, Rochester.*

## BOARD OF VISITORS TO PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

I do not know of any record kept by board of visitors. The record of the institutions is a biennial report made at close of term in June.—*Letter from John E. Weeks, Middlebury.*

As the statutes require certain records, names, and recommendations in their report, another letter was sent to Mr. Weeks, and at intervals, one to the governor and one to Mrs. P. F. Hazen, St. Johnsbury, but no replies were received.

## BOUNDARY LINE COMMISSION.

This consists of three members. A letter to Hon. F. H. Babbitt, Bellows Falls, brought a reply: "Referring to your letter of February 25, the resolution introduced by me in the Vermont Legislature of 1912 creating this commission will be found in the Public Statutes of Vermont, acts of 1912. Such other correspondence and records as the commission acquired in connection with this boundary-line matter are in the hands of Hon. Alexander Dunnett, of St. Johnsbury, Vt., chairman of the boundary line commission."

Two letters, three weeks apart, to Hon. Alexander Dunnett, citing Mr. Babbitt's letter, brought reply: "The papers of which you desire a memoranda are to be found with Attorney General Herbert G. Barber."

A letter to Mr. Barber citing the previous correspondence brought reply: "I do not know what papers you refer to. If I knew specifically what you desire perhaps I might be in a position to assist you, otherwise I could not." A further letter to Mr. Dunnett citing Mr. Barber's letter brought no reply.

## BRATTLEBORO RETREAT.

Located at Brattleboro, Vt. Founded 1834, upon bequest of Mrs. Anna Marsh, as an eleemosynary trust; governed by a board of trustees, under the title of "Vermont Asylum for the Insane"; changed to "Brattleboro Retreat" by act of the general assembly, 1892.

Medical records are kept in steel filing cases and in fireproof vault. In the same vault are kept the mittimi relative to State patients, and the commitment papers of private patients. The retreat has a card file for patients under treatment and for patients discharged. The medical records, examinations, and reports of night nurses are kept in a wooden filing cabinet, later in the vault, also other records deemed worthy of preservation. The trustees meet once a month or oftener as required. Their record books are kept in the vault.—*Letter from S. E. Lawton, M. D., superintendent, Brattleboro.* Reports published, 1837—

## BUREAU OF PUBLICITY.

This bureau is under the secretary of state, with the office in the secretary's office at Essex Junction. One man is in charge, and is at the office three days in the week. There are very few papers except correspondence. The bureau has issued "Vermont, the land of Green Mountains," 1911, 1915; "Industrial Vermont," 1914.

## CATTLE COMMISSION.

Created by act, December 10, 1902; succeeded by cattle commissioner, 1908, and live stock commissioner, 1913. The State board of

agriculture (created 1880) acted as cattle commissioners (by act 106, 1888) from 1888 to 1902. Reports in house journals, 1888, 1890; in biennial report of board, 1892-1904. In cellar of statehouse are two wooden boxes marked "Correspondence 07-8," and three "applications for test, 07-8." For other papers, see Live stock commissioner.

## CATTLE COMMISSIONER.

1908-1913. See above, and for papers, see Live stock commissioner.

## CLERK OF HOUSE.

The original house journal of the general assembly is kept on file in the office of the secretary of state. All other records pertaining to legislation are kept by the State librarian.—*Letter from Harry A. Black, clerk, Newport.*

## COMMISSARY GENERAL.

Report in 1813. No papers found.

## COMMISSION FOR ERECTING VERMONT MONUMENTS AT GETTYSBURG.

Report, 1888. Published, Vermont day at Gettysburg; program. 1889. No papers found.

## COMMISSION ON BOUNDARY LINE.

See Boundary Line Commission.

## COMMISSION ON BOUNDARY LINE MONUMENTS BETWEEN VERMONT AND MASSACHUSETTS.

Reports in 1894, 1900. In existence as late as 1904. No papers found.

## COMMISSION ON CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES.

Report, 1912. No papers found.

## COMMISSION ON INCORPORATED VILLAGES.

Report, 1894. No papers found.

## COMMISSION ON NORMAL SCHOOLS.

Report, 1908. No papers found.

## COMMISSION ON PROBATION.

You are advised that we have a card index record, kept by counties, of all probationers on file in my office in St. Albans. The records in each case consist of the original report and the final report, together with such reports in the form of letters containing any information in regard to the probationer which

is considered important. The original report shows the probationer's name, age, sex, nationality, etc., the court in which the conviction was had, the crime committed, whether the probationer is married or single, the term of probation, and the conditions. The final report shows whether probationer satisfactorily completed his term of probation, or whether he was recommitted for violation of conditions, etc. The foregoing reports are made by the county probation officers. Each county probation officer keeps a record of the cases under his charge, and requires reports from each probationer to be made every month. The monthly reports are kept on file by the county probation officer. In addition to the above each county probation officer makes a quarterly report to the commission in which delinquent probationers are mentioned by name.—*Letter from L. S. Tillotson, secretary, St. Albans.*

#### COMMISSION ON SYSTEM OF STATE AUDIT.

Report, 1908. No papers found.

#### COMMISSION ON TAXATION.

Report, 1908. No papers found.

#### COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND CONDITIONS OF VERMONT.

This commission concluded its labors and made its report in 1914. Aside from its report, there was filed in the Vermont State Library a small volume of records of the commission, being merely a record of the meetings of the commission held from time to time, and the various votes had and the resolutions adopted. The remaining records of the commission, if they can be called such, are here in my custody stored away. They consist of correspondence, records of distribution of the reports, and other material that formed the basis of our report. I doubt if there is anything in what I have that should be preserved. The commission gave me no directions respecting the matter. Whether it will be preserved, I do not know, but I should expect it would be of little or no value to any one investigating matters similar to those before us.—*Letter from George L. Hunt, secretary, Montpelier.*

#### COMMISSION TO PREPARE AND PRESENT PROPOSALS OF AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Created, 1908. Report, 1910. No papers found.

#### COMMISSION TO PROVIDE A MEMORIAL TO COMMODORE THOMAS MACDONOUGH.

There has been no report. There should be at some future time, but I can not tell when. You would do well to write R. W. McCuen, sometime. He is the secretary of the commission.—*Letter from Judge F. L. Fish, Vergennes.*

The MacDonough commission has not as yet finished the business for which it was created. The monument has not been erected, owing to the delay of the Government officials, and a report must be made to our State legislature in 1917.—*Letter from R. W. McCuen, secretary, Middlebury.*

No information about papers or records.

## COMMISSION TO PROVIDE A SUITABLE MEMORIAL FOR IRA ALLEN.

Under a joint resolution of the legislature February 20, 1913, three persons, of whom I am one, were appointed by the governor to report to the next legislature a plan for a suitable memorial for Ira Allen. The committee did report as directed. The commission had no records. We simply drew up this recommendation, signed it, and reported it to the legislature of 1915. It is printed in the journals of both houses. The legislature of 1915 continued the committee to carry out the plan. We have not met, and there are no records.—*Letter from J. K. Batchelder, commissioner, Arlington.*

## COMMISSION UPON THE REVISION OF THE STATUTES.

Report, 1880. No papers found.

COMMISSIONER APPOINTED FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONFERRING WITH THE DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN ASYLUM ON PROVIDING FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE DEAF AND DUMB.

Report, 1825. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONER FOR DEAF, DUMB, AND BLIND.

Act 31, 1825. Reports, 1825–1862. Another report, 1894. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONER FOR INSANE.

See Special commissioner for insane.

## COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE.

The board of agriculture of the State of Vermont was organized in 1872. In 1908 the law was changed, reducing the number of the board, creating the office of the commissioner of agriculture, and transferring nearly all the duties of the board to the commissioner. The reports of the old board of agriculture and of the commissioner of agriculture may be found at the State library, Montpelier. Very meager records of the doings of the old board, but no correspondence, was turned over to me by my predecessor in office. I have in my possession the correspondence files of my predecessor in office and also the correspondence for the last three years during which I have been in office. These records are not kept in safes.—*Letter from E. S. Brigham, St. Albans.*

Reports published annually and include reports of State forester, State Horticultural Society, Vermont Dairymen's Association, Maple Sugar Makers' Association, State fair commission.

## COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURAL AND MANUFACTURING INTERESTS.

Report, 1888, 1890. No papers found.

COMMISSIONER OF DEAF, DUMB, BLIND, IDIOTIC, FEEBLE-MINDED, AND EPILEPTIC CHILDREN.

Vested in governor, who shall report biennially to the general assembly, with an account of expenditures. Papers with secretary of civil and military affairs.

## COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

The executive officer of the State board of education by act 64, 1915.

## COMMISSIONER OF FISHERIES AND GAME.

Succeeded commissioners of fisheries and game in 1904.

In reply to your letter would say the State commissioner of fisheries has no records which would be of service to you, except what we have published in the biennial reports. Under our system of government commissioners have been appointed and run things in harmony with their ideas for their period of time, and other commissioners have come in, and thus it has gone from the start. No papers have been preserved except the printed reports. Vermont, like other States, has been too penurious to provide office accommodations for its records. In fact, until comparatively recently, commissioners have performed all the duties without the aid of clerks or stenographers. Any records which exist with reference to my department will be found at the State library at Montpelier.—*Letter from John W. Titcomb, commissioner, Lyndonville.*

## COMMISSIONER OF INDIGENT TUBERCULOUS PERSONS.

Act 219, 1912. Vested in governor, who shall report to legislature. The records are kept in the office of the secretary of civil and military affairs.

## COMMISSIONER OF INSANE.

Reports, 1846-1861. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC PRINTING.

Report, 1900-1912. Duties taken over by purchasing agent when that office was created (1912). A big book of requisitions and general correspondence is in the cellar.

## COMMISSIONER OF STATE PRINTING.

This title also found.

## COMMISSIONER OF STATE TAXES.

Created by act of 1882. Reports published, 1884-

For many years the commissioners lived in Burlington, but the present commissioner lives in Northfield, so all the papers were moved there. They are kept in wooden filing cases in a non-fireproof building, but a large safe holds some of the indexes.

The town records are in five large cases. There is an index card for each town, and this indicates the nature of the records kept—appeals, express and freight, inheritances, listers' meetings, quadrennial appraisals, assessments, grand list abstract, tax rate, share-



holders (filed by corporations), listers' supplies, railroad taxation, exempted by vote, villages, statistics.

In large filing cases are partnerships by towns, stockholders, savings-bank returns (every six months).

In big filing drawers are annual license tax, general correspondence, railroad reports, inheritance taxes; all indexed. There is a card index for shareholders.

There are pasteboard filing boxes with old reports; all indexed.

In the safe are the indexes of annual licenses, shareholders, partnerships, dissolutions, service of process agents (outside the State), telephones, foreign corporations, banks.

There are some papers in the lower vault at the statehouse in Montpelier.

#### COMMISSIONER OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

This office was established in 1910 and has its headquarters on the first floor of the statehouse. It keeps its records in filing cases—correspondence, reports of inspectors, records of condemnations. It has published requirements for cities and towns standards; weights and measures law; circulars of standards; circular suggestions to housekeepers, etc.; specifications and regulations. Reports, 1912—

#### COMMISSIONER ON THE CONDITIONS OF THE STATE LIBRARY.

Report, 1857. No papers found.

#### COMMISSIONER TO THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION AT PARIS.

Report, 1867. No papers found.

#### COMMISSIONER UPON THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Report, 1880. No papers found.

#### COMMISSIONERS FOR EXAMINING ACCOUNTS AGAINST THE STATE.

Report, 1780. No papers found.

#### COMMISSIONERS OF FISHERIES AND GAME.

1892–1904. No papers found.

#### COMMISSIONERS OF VERMONT ON CANAL FROM LAKE CHAMPLAIN TO CONNECTICUT RIVER.

Report in assembly journal, 1825. No papers found.

#### COMMISSIONERS ON CLAIMS AGAINST STATE.

Act of November, 1861. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS ON NORMAL SCHOOLS.

Report, 1888. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS ON PLAN OF STATEHOUSE.

Report, 1857. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS [ON] RESTORATION OF SEA FISH TO THE CONNECTICUT RIVER AND ITS TRIBUTARIES.

Created by joint resolution, 1865. Report, 1866. Became fish commissioners. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS OF THE NATIONAL STATUARY HALL.

Report, 1866. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS TO DEVISE A PLAN FOR THE BETTER ACCOMMODATION AND UTILITY OF THE STATE LIBRARY, STATE CABINET, AND THE COLLECTIONS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Report, 1878. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS TO EXAMINE [CONDITION OF] UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

Reports, 1844, 1845. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS TO INQUIRE INTO CONDITIONS OF AND MEASURES OF PROTECTION FOR FORESTS OF VERMONT.

Report in house journal, 1884. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS TO LOCATE AND BUILD A WORKHOUSE.

Report, 1878. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS TO SETTLE WITH SURETIES OF LATE STATE TREASURER.

Reports, 1861, 1862. No papers found.

## COMMISSIONERS TO VISIT UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

Report, 1842.

## COMMITTEE ON DOUBLE TAXATION.

1900. No papers found.

## COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AFFAIRS OF STATE.

Report, 1851. No papers found.

## COMMITTEE TO EXAMINE BANKS OF VERMONT.

Appointed annually (1809-1830) by legislature. After 1831 apparently an office called inspector of banks,

## CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Conventions were held 1777, 1792, 1814, 1822, 1828, 1836, 1843, 1850, 1857, 1870. Proceedings of each have been published. In the secretary of state's office is the constitution of 1793 with the amendments of 1828; also the credentials of members of 1870 convention. No other papers found anywhere.

## COUNCIL OF CENSORS.

A council of censors was required to be elected and to meet every seven years. They met in 1785, 1792, 1799, 1806, 1813, 1820, 1827, 1834, 1841, 1848, 1855, 1862, 1869 and published proceedings or journal of each meeting, although in 1785 and 1792 only in brief. The journal for the 1813-14 meeting is in the secretary of state's office vault, but no other papers were found anywhere.

## CREAMERY COMMISSIONERS.

The secretary of state and state treasurer are the commissioners. The law requires that certified copies of charter, etc., of creamery companies, bonds or other securities, quarterly sworn statements, surety bonds if required, shall be filed. The papers for 1912 are on file in this office (secretary of state, Montpelier), in the upper vault. Such papers for the years since 1912, at the present time, are on file at our Essex Junction office, but these I expect will be filed here within a short time.—*Letter from Rawson C. Myrick, deputy secretary of state, Montpelier.*

## CUSTODIAN OF DOCUMENTS.

Replying to your question, will say that I am custodian of documents, but as such I do not have the records in the sense you mean, I think. The custodian of documents of Vermont receives and distributes all documents and reports made by the different officers and commissions of the State.—*Letter from E. Lee Whitney, assistant state librarian.*

## EDUCATION.

Besides special commissions, the following seem to have been the officials and boards concerned with education in Vermont, although definite dates have been hard to find:

Board of commissioners of common schools, act November 9, 1827.

State superintendent of common schools, 1845-1851.

Board of education, November 18, 1856-1874.

Secretary of board of education, November 18, 1856-1874.

State superintendent of education, 1874-1912.

Board of education, ———-1915.

Secretary of board of education, ———-1915.

State board of education, 1915-——.

Commissioner of education, executive officer of State board, 1915-——.

Board of normal school examiners, commissioners, and supervisors, 1894-1898.

Board of normal school commissioners, 1900-1908.

The various boards and officers have had their headquarters in the capitol since December 1, 1892. The only records discovered were:

"Records" (i. e., minutes) of board of education, 1856-1874.

Some correspondence. This is usually destroyed as soon as it safely can be. County examiners' records, 1890-1909, in dome; since 1909, in office.

Certificates of town system of schools, 1885-86, in lower vault.

The former secretary of the board of education, 1912-1915, lives in Bellows Falls, and was expected to send his records to the statehouse, but had not done so up to August, 1915.

No old papers were found.

#### ELECTIVE TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT AND STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

Those members of the board who are elected by the legislature, being designated as trustees on the part of the State Agricultural College, have no meetings or records apart from those of the full board of trustees of the University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, of which they are members. So far as their administrative duties are concerned there is no difference between the status of the elective trustees and the trustees on the part of the whole university corporation, the latter body being self-perpetuating, under the charter of 1865, which united the State Agricultural College and the University of Vermont.—*Letter from E. R. Mower, secretary board of trustees, Burlington.*

#### ENGROSSING CLERK.

All records of the Vermont legislatures written by the engrossing clerk are bound in book form and filed at the State capitol.—*Letter from Mrs. Mary B. Hunter, clerk, Burlington.* See Secretary of state.

#### EXECUTIVE CLERK.

No records, except a memorandum of the time when legislative bills are received by the executive department and the date of their approval or veto.

The duties of executive clerk are simply those of legal adviser to the governor and principally relate to the legislation introduced in the general assembly.—*Letter from Sherman R. Moulton, executive clerk, Burlington.*

#### FACTORY INSPECTOR.

"We have no safe or vault for the keeping of the records, etc. in this office. We are located in a three-story brick, veneer building, which is not fireproof. All my records of accidents, recommendations, accounts of child and female labor—in fact all records—are kept in an ordinary file."—*Letter from A. Calhoun, factory inspector, Middlebury.* Reports 1914—

#### FINANCIAL AGENT.

Report, 1861-1864. Called inspector of finances, 1862, 1864. No papers found.

#### FISH AND GAME.

See Commissioners on restoration of sea fish to the Connecticut River and its tributaries. 1865-66.

Fish commissioners, 1866-1892.

Commissioner of fisheries and game, 1892-1904.

Commissioner of fisheries and game, 1904—

## FISH COMMISSIONERS.

1866-1892. Reports, 1867-1892. No papers found.

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The general assembly from 1777 to 1836 consisted of one house; from 1836 to date, of house of representatives and senate.

Most of the manuscript records of the assembly are in the secretary of state's vault; many of these have been printed. Details are in the report of the secretary's office. In brief, the records include laws (original and engrossed) and journals (these have been printed); resolutions (also printed); joint committee journals; credentials, debentures, petitions, bills, yea and nay books, oath books. In the dome are various lots of senate and house bill books and yea and nay books. In the lower vault are "joint committees" and "letters to assembly"; dates not given.

There are some documents that are not kept which might prove of value to those interested in framing legislation and to the historical investigator. These include bills that do not pass, bills not enacted because of "pocket vetoes," and all committee records. There is sometimes valuable information in committee journals and minutes. One such document, the record of the judiciary committee for the session of 1915, was secured by the legislative reference librarian after assembly had adjourned; its value is indicated at a glance.

## GOVERNOR.

The governor was closely associated with the supreme executive council when there was only one house in the legislature, 1777-1836. Their records are in 12 volumes in the secretary of state's office vault; these were published in 8 volumes, 1873-1880. Also in the secretary of state's vault (which see for details) are appointments, 1800-1819; applications for pardons, certificates of officers, oaths, justice of the peace papers, reports of conditional pardons. In the lower vault is "Correspondence of governors," in wooden boxes nailed up. In the dome are nine big packages, old, tied up in paper with cord, probably of some importance, marked "Letters, petitions, etc., Executive Department." Other papers (appointments, commissions, paroles, designations, etc.) are found in the vault in the office of secretary of civil and military affairs (which see.) The governor is also commissioner of deaf, dumb, etc., and commissioner for indigent tuberculous persons. These records are in the secretary for civil and military affairs' keeping.

## HIGHWAY COMMISSION.

See State road commission.

## HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

At Rutland. Completed, 1878. Reports, 1880——. The superintendent, Merton H. Loukes, sent a copy of the biennial report in response to a letter, but further letters asking about records, not answered.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

See General assembly.

## INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT BOARD.

We beg to advise you that this board has records and preserves all correspondence and awards of compensation, medical services, etc., in the office of the board at Montpelier, Vermont, in steel filing cases. The files are organized on a card system, with folders for the several reports, awards, etc., each report, etc., being indexed thereon.—*Letter from Robert W. Simonds, Chairman, St. Johnsbury.*

## INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

Located at Vergennes. Established 1865 as reform school; 1894, Vermont Industrial School.

At the time of our fire, in the early part of 1914, most of the records of the school were lost. We believe we have the records of admission for children intact for some years. That is about all.—*Letter from J. N. Barss, superintendent.*

Reports, 1865—

## INSANE ASYLUM.

1870–1892. See Brattleboro Retreat.

## INSPECTOR GENERAL.

See Adjutant and inspector general.

## INSPECTOR OF BANKS.

1831 [?]-[?]. No papers found.

## INSPECTOR OF FINANCE.

Act of November 24, 1874, enlarged powers. Report 1875–6, in auditor's; 1878, 1879, 1884–1906, annual. Succeeded by bank commissioner, 1906. No papers found. See also Financial agent.

## INSURANCE COMMISSIONERS.

The treasurer and secretary of state are the commissioners. Reports since 1868. Papers in treasurer's vault. In dome, two boxes of general correspondence and insurance receipts.

Reports, 1869——.

## JUDGE ADVOCATE.

I know of no papers or records belonging to the office of judge advocate of the State of Vermont. It has been more of an honorary office than anything else.—*Letter from A. H. Grout, former judge advocate, Newport.*

## LAKE CHAMPLAIN TERCENTENARY COMMISSION.

The secretary's records of the Vermont Lake Champlain tercentenary commission are still in my possession. There has been some discussion relative to turning them over to the State library, but no definite decision has as yet been reached. The records of the treasurer, which would include vouchers, must still be with him or in the office of the State auditor.—*Letter from L. M. Hayes, secretary, Burlington.*

The commission was created to arrange for the celebration in 1909. Report, published 1910, under title "The tercentenary celebration."

## LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE BUREAU.

Office on first floor of statehouse. Established, 1910. This is nominally a department of the State library. The material for use is kept in wooden filing cases, according to the Whitton classification. During sessions an index of all bills is kept, with their status. Requests for information on bills are also filed. During sessions also two legislative draftsmen are employed, independent of this office, but working in close relations with it.

## LEGISLATURE.

See General assembly.

## LIBRARY COMMISSIONERS.

See Board of library commissioners.

## LIVE-STOCK COMMISSIONER.

Created February 13, 1913, succeeding cattle commissioner.

I have the following records on file in this office:

Record books, in which are recorded the number of cattle and horses entering Vermont, cattle and horses tested and examined by the State, cattle tested for shipment ex State and private tests. These books go back to October, 1908.

Permit books, in which are recorded all the permits issued to bring cattle and horses into the State. Records since 1899 on file.

Commissioner's expense accounts since January 1, 1907.

Veterinarian's expense accounts since January 1, 1908.

Expense accounts of old cattle commission from April, 1898, to 1898.

Record of claims paid since July, 1910.

Record of all persons having had State tests since January 1, 1911.

Veterinarian's tuberculin test chart of tests made since April 1, 1909.

Owners' applications for test since January 1, 1911.

Correspondence (general) since January, 1909.

Certificate of destruction since January, 1909.—*Letter from F. L. Davis, live-stock commissioner, White River Junction.*

Report, 1914——.

## PANAMA CANAL EXPOSITION COMMISSION.

Commission of seven members. It turned over to the Vermont Historical Society such material as it had at the time the commission disbanded.

## PRINTING COMMISSIONER.

See Commissioner of public printing.

## PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

This succeeded the board of railroad commissioners in 1908, which succeeded the railroad commissioner, 1856-1886. The office is at Brattleboro, where the "live" records are kept. These consist of tariffs, schedules, accidents, grade crossings, complaints concerning steam and electric railroads, water power, electric light, telephone, telegraph, and express companies. These are kept in filing cases; there is no vault. The "record books" are like a court docket and contain lists of cases heard. They go back for many years. It was stated that the testimony in cases was kept at the statehouse; also that old material was sent up to the statehouse, but nowhere—office, vaults, basement, or dome—were any papers seen.

Reports, 1910- .

## PURCHASING AGENT.

This office was created in 1912, taking over parts of duties of several other offices. It is located in the statehouse, and its duties are the purchase of goods of all sorts for State offices and State institutions. It keeps correspondence, requisitions, and bills in ordinary filing cases. Report published 1914.

## QUARTERMASTER GENERAL.

Reports published 1815- . The office was consolidated with the adjutant general by act of November 13, 1900; such papers as exist are in his vault, and reports now published by him.

## RAILROAD COMMISSIONER.

This office was in existence, by act of November 4, 1855, to 1886, and was followed by board of railroad commissioners, 1886-1908. They cover a most interesting period of Vermont railroad history. Unfortunately there do not seem to be many records left. The "record books" are in Brattleboro with the public service commission. In the latter's office at the statehouse are wooden filing cases labeled "Inspection reports," "Bridge reports," "Accident reports," "Complaints and petitions," "Passenger tariffs," and "Freight tariffs." They cover variously the years 1887 to 1908, but unfortunately many of them are empty. In the cellar are papers marked



"Stenographic notes, cross-examinations." No other papers were found.

Reports, 1856-1870, annual; 1872-1886, biennial.

#### RAILROADS.

See Railroad commissioner, November 4, 1855-1886; board of railroad commissioners, act 23, 1886-1908; public service commission, 1908—.

#### REFORM SCHOOL.

1865-1894; then called Industrial school, which see.

#### REPORTER OF DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT.

No papers or archives of any kind. The original opinions are by statute required to be filed with the clerk of the general term of the supreme court, at Montpelier, when the reporter of decisions is through with them.—*Letter from J. W. Redmond, reporter, Newport.*

#### SECRETARY OF BOARD OF EDUCATION.

By act November 18, 1856. Also, title of office which went out of existence, 1915. (See Education.)

#### SECRETARY OF CIVIL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

By law (1906, Pub. Stat. 285) the secretary "shall keep a record of the official acts of the executive department in books to be kept in the statehouse." The office is on the second floor of the statehouse, adjoining the executive chambers, and contains a small vault. The record books contain appointments and commissions, approval of accounts, paroles, designations to the Vermont State hospitals, designations of feeble-minded and blind (to other States), conditional discharges from the house of correction, applications for requisition and extradition, and any other acts. The paroles are now filed on cards in filing cases in the office. By law the official correspondence is to be filed in the secretary of state's office. Some of it is in the lower vault and some in the dome. (See under Secretary of State.)

#### SECRETARY OF SENATE.

All original bills which pass go to the governor, and only bills which fail of passage and occasional petitions and memorials are left in the secretary's hands at the end of the session, save those things which are detailed by the journal.—*Letter from Guy M. Page, secretary, Burlington.*

#### SECRETARY OF STATE.

Essex Junction office. Wooden office building and wooden filing cases. Office force mostly here. All original records are in Montpelier; only duplicates here and current correspondence. (See account of Montpelier office at beginning of report.)

## SENATE.

Established, 1836. For records, see General assembly.

## SERGEANT AT ARMS.

Office in statehouse. Requisitions for supplies and correspondence are kept. The creation of the office of Purchasing Agent took over some of the duties of this office.

Reports, 1857-1867 in house journals; also 1859, 1861, 1862, 1865, 1869, 1870-1878, 1884-

## SOLDIERS' HOME.

The business records of the transactions of the board of trustees are recorded in a book by the secretary. The present secretary is Hon. E. J. Ormsbee, of Brandon, Vt. Previous records are undoubtedly in books at the home. The home was incorporated in 1884 and provided for 18 trustees.—*Letter from Hugh Henry, president of board of trustees, Chester.*

Reports, 1888——.

## SPECIAL COMMISSION FOR THE INSANE.

Report, 1878. No papers found.

## SPECIAL COMMISSION ON PERMANENT COMMON-SCHOOL FUND.

Report, 1906. No papers found.

## STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

The college is at Burlington in relationship with the University of Vermont. The financial records are in the office of C. P. Smith, treasurer, Burlington; the trustees' minutes with Judge Mower, Burlington; the scholastic records in the registrar's office at the university. (See also Elective trustees, etc.)

## STATE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION.

Located at Burlington. Reports, 1887-date. All records at station.

## STATE ASYLUM FOR INSANE.

The name, 1834-1870, of the institution that is now Brattleboro Retreat, which see.

## STATE BANK.

Reports dated 1807-1816; 1829-1835. No papers found.

## STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

Act of December 23, 1880, succeeding superintendent of agricultural affairs, and succeeded by State board of agriculture and forestry in 1908, which see.

Reports, 1882-1908.

## STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY.

Succeeded State board of agriculture in 1908.

Minutes of the board are kept by the secretary in loose-leaf notebooks at his office at the State Agricultural College, at Burlington. Reports, 1910——.

## STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURING, AND MINING.

By act of November 22, 1870. Succeeded by board of agriculture, 1876.

Reports, 1872–1876.

## STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Created (1915) to succeed board of education.

## STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

Journal of proceedings, published 1874, 1878, 1882. No papers found.

## STATE BOARD OF EXAMINERS IN OPTOMETRY.

We keep permanent records in secretary's book of meetings of board, examinations, subjects, contestants, certificates issued, cash received. These two latter are also kept with secretary of state.—*Letter from Augustus S. Haskins, president of the board, St. Johnsbury, Vt.*

## STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

The secretary gives his whole time and has his office in Burlington. All the health records extant are here, but in the earlier days very little except vital statistics was kept. At present the secretary receives from health officers records of communicable diseases; from physicians records of tuberculosis and venereal diseases; from town clerks vital statistics (i. e., births, marriages, and deaths) for the current year, they being then filed with the secretary of State; reports from sanitary inspectors; reports from sanitary engineers; correspondence, of which a good deal is about vital statistics, and hence is kept in a separate file; reports on schoolhouse repairs. These records are kept in wooden filing cases.

This office adjoins that of the State laboratory of hygiene, in the same small building, and it must be noted that the reports show in their arrangement, indexing, and completeness evidence that they are kept by scientific experts and not by political officeholders.

Reports, 1887–1896, annual; 1898, biennial.

## STATE BOARD OF MEDICAL REGISTRATION.

The board keeps on file all applications, reports of examinations, and records of all business transacted, including reciprocity transactions. Biennially it issues a report to the governor of several hundred copies, which includes list

of registered physicians practicing in Vermont. It also has on file in this office card indexes of all physicians examined by the board, as well as all who have been registered in the State at any time since 1874. Another index also furnishes the record of each physician practicing in the State—his college and year of examination and registration. All correspondence with other State boards, medical organizations, etc., is kept on file. In the printed report the comments of the president or secretary are published with the law under which the board acts, also the rules and regulations promulgated by the board.—*Letter from Dr. W. Scott Nay, secretary, Underhill.*

#### STATE BOARD OF PHARMACY.

It has been the custom to preserve copies of all examinations given our candidates, also papers made out by such candidates, together with records of meetings held by the commission.

This board was established in 1894. Some 8 or 10 years ago, however, the secretary of the board, Mr. J. G. Bellrose, of Burlington, had a fire in his store, which destroyed practically all of our records. Since then such records as described above have been preserved and are in proper file with the present secretary, Mason G. Beebe, Ph. G., Burlington, Vt.—*Letter from W. F. Root, member, Brattleboro.*

#### STATE FAIR COMMISSION.

I have the following records on file in this office: Cashbook, April 1, 1910, to date; ledger since December 1, 1914 (new); records of the minutes of the State fair commission since May 24, 1913; live-stock entry blanks since 1910; correspondence between secretary and others since 1909; judges' books, entry books, since 1910.—*Letter from F. L. Davis, Secretary-Treasurer, Vermont State Fair, White River Junction.*

Reports, annual, 1910 [?]-

#### STATE FORESTER.

Office in State Agricultural College, Burlington, and records all kept in filing cases there. They include, correspondence; forest fires; State nursery and State forests; general technical index, 1909 to date; reports on investigations for private owners; working plans of State forests; official copy of survey notes.

Reports, 1909- , in commissioner of agriculture's report, annually.

#### STATE GEOLOGIST.

I have in my office, which is in the statehouse, at Montpelier, records of all quarries and mines and companies working the same; reports on many quarries, mineral prospects, and ledges; maps of various parts of the State; notes on the geology of numerous areas in the State; catalogues of the rocks found in many of the towns of the State and of the fossils found in different parts of the State. Besides the above, there are many letters concerning the geology of Vermont as well as numerous letters of inquiry as to geological matters.—*Letter from G. H. Perkins, State geologist, Burlington.*

Reports of surveys published at intervals, beginning 1845. Perkins's survey, 1898- ; ninth of series, 1914.

## STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER.

Act December 1, 1898, created the office of State highway commissioner. For over 10 years the office has been in Franklin, but plans are being made to move it to Montpelier. Correspondence, financial records, and some plans are kept. At Barre is the county supervisor, and most of the road plans are kept there.

Reports, 1900——.

## STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Papers and collection in State library. In the dome are a lot of boxes and books marked "Historical society." Not a State institution.

## STATE HOSPITAL FOR INSANE.

Located at Waterbury.

Medical records kept in steel filing cases. They include the "authorities" for having patients from the first admission to the present—from county court where insanity is pleaded; from guardians with physicians' certificates for private cases; from probate court with physicians' certificates when at the family's request (known as "State cases"); "alcoholics" sent in on third offense by minor court in lieu of house of correction; drug habitués; a few voluntary cases. The first cases came from the Brattleboro Retreat. There is a card file for patients in the hospital; another for all that were ever inmates. Discharges are filed under whatever authority they are made. Case records (medical) are kept for every patient, examinations and daily reports; these in wooden filing cabinets. A separate file of deaths is kept. Reports of the still watches (night) for each hall and general night watches (male and female) are on file.

Business records in business office and vault, all from the beginning, are here—cashbook, vouchers, bills until sent to purchasing agent, pay roll, requisitions, emergency requisitions, private-patient book.

The trustees meet once a month. Their minutes are in the vault.

The minutes of the supervisors of the insane are kept here.

## STATE LABORATORY OF HYGIENE.

Office at Burlington. All records are on cards by counties, kept in filing cases. Records cover examinations of 20 different kinds, including typhoid, tuberculosis, diphtheria, water, milk, drugs. On August 2, 1915, the total number was 144,944. The correspondence is kept in filing drawers. The financial records are classified, and a duplicate record sent month by month with vouchers to the auditor's office.

## STATE LIBRARY.

See Trustees of State Library.

## STATE NATURALIST.

A report published by this officer in 1856. No papers found.

## STATE ORNITHOLOGIST.

According to the "Manual," the incumbent of this office is Carleton Dexter Howe, superintendent of schools of Morrisville. Three letters directed to him received no reply.

## STATE PRISON.

We have a filing cabinet at the institution wherein are kept the commitment papers and discharge papers of the inmates, and of course we keep all business correspondence on file, the same as any business that is done in an efficient manner.—*Letter from E. T. Beide, clerk, Windsor.*

Reports, 1809——.

## STATE ROAD COMMISSION.

There was a State road commission established in 1892, consisting of three members, to investigate the road conditions of the State and report. This commission made two reports—one in 1894, and one in 1896. This commission was never intended for any other purpose than to make an investigation, and it was dissolved after these duties were performed.—*Letter from Benjamin Gates, secretary of civil and military affairs, Montpelier.*

## STATE SCHOOL FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

Established by act 81, 1912.

The secretary keeps a record of the minutes and proceedings of the board, and the correspondence and accounts of the school are kept by the superintendent. The correspondence and copies of all letters are kept by the vertical filing system. The accounts are rendered in abstract form to the auditor monthly. We are beginning a system of keeping records of all children, such as a physical examination of each child, the Binet or mental age, summary of case record, such as age, color, civil condition, birthplace, parent names, and birthplaces, diagnoses, etc. Later on when we get organized we shall keep a record of their school and industrial work.—*Letter from Frederic J. Russell, superintendent, Brandon.*

## STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF COMMON SCHOOLS.—

Annual report, published, 1846–1851. No papers found.

## STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION.

Reports published, 1874——. No papers found.

## SUPERINTENDENT OF AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS.

Act of November 26, 1878. Report, 1880. Succeeded by State board of agriculture, 1880. No papers found.

## SUPERINTENDENT OF CONSTRUCTION OF STATEHOUSE.

Report, 1857. No papers found.

For Superintendents of Brattleboro Retreat, House of Correction, State Hospital for Insane, State Prison Industrial School, see those institutions.

## SUPERINTENDENT OF STATEHOUSE.

Reports published, 1833-1837, 1857-1858. "Roll of hands, 1836-1837," is in auditor's office. "Ledger," 1836-37, in secretary of state's vault.

## SUPERVISORS OF THE INSANE.

Act 60, 1878. Reports, 1880——. See State Hospital for Insane.

## SUPREME COURT.

The clerk of the supreme court is clerk of the county court of Washington County. The county courthouse is on State Street, in Montpelier. The vault is large and commodious, with basement and high ceiling.

The statutes provide (sec. 1377) that the county clerk—"I. shall enter or record the judgments rendered in a book kept for that purpose; II. make and keep dockets of the causes pending; III. record any other proceedings that events may direct."

The "Supreme Court Records" are in folio volumes, as follows: 1:1821-30; 2:1831-50; 3:1858-66; 4:1866——; 5:1875-83; 6:1882-89; 7:——1894; 8:——1900; 9:——1906 (this was the last one seen).

The "docket books" are probably from the same date; 1830 was the first one seen. There may be gaps, as the earlier ones are not in any order.

The "briefs" are by law (sec. 331) required to be kept in the State library. This is done, and they date back to 1871. They are in process of being bound, and in April, 1916, were bound from 1883. They will probably be finished in 1916. The earlier briefs are bound up by years. Beginning with volume 63 of Vermont reports to the 88th Vermont, inclusive, they are bound as the cases appear in each volume of reports and numbered chronologically. There is a chronological index made and also a general index by names of parties in each case.

Supreme court reports (Vermont reports), 1793 (covering from 1789) to date.

## SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

1777-1836. For records, see secretary of state, D., Governor's papers.

## SURGEON GENERAL.

Reports published 1864-1866. No papers found.

## SURVEYOR GENERAL.

1779-1838. See secretary of state's office for papers.

## TEACHERS' RETIREMENT FUND BOARD.

Under the Vermont law for teachers' pensions a retirement fund is being created, which now amounts to more than \$30,000. This fund is controlled by a retirement fund board, of which I am a member and the secretary. The aim of the present law is to increase the retirement fund until the income arising from the fund be sufficient to retire teachers under certain conditions. Under the present law it will be many years before pensions can be paid. The position I hold as secretary of the board is not a State office and no compensation is attached to it. The retirement board simply controls the investment of the retirement funds.—*Letter from D. B. Locke, secretary, Rutland.*

## TREASURER.

Office established by constitution, 1777. Located at statehouse.

There is a commodious office vault, while the older papers are in the lower vault. There is a little vault in the office behind a desk which contains only Civil War State payments.

There are a few bound volumes—war receipts, assignments from minors, pay roll, payments to Vermont volunteers' (2 vols., 1867-1882) accounts.

The filing cases are labeled, containing papers as follows:

License-tax returns; hunters' licenses; corporation tax returns; abstract of liquor fees; charter-tax returns; agents' requisitions; Huntington fund; Sherman National Bank; canceled vouchers; appraisals of property; board of appeals; income of permanent school fund; orders, extra pay, act of 1898, First Vermont Volunteers; town clerks' certificates; elections of town treasurers and others, 1907- ; bonds of county clerks; bonds of probate judges; bonds of miscellaneous; bonds of State's attorneys; bonds of directors of mutual fire insurance companies; War with Spain, extra State payments; permanent highway fund—orders, apportionments, expenditures; State school tax apportionments; State highway tax, 1893- ; State school tax, 1891- ; collateral inheritance taxes; corporation and annual license taxes; town officers and incorporated districts; State officers, boards, and institutions; county clerks and probate judges.



There are books containing the following: Insurance licenses, cash, county clerk receipts, register of companies, journals (treasurer's office), State treasurer's annual statement of taxes.

In the lower vault is a collection of papers, not in use, in filing cabinets, relating to taxes, assessments; and volumes marked "Treasurer's records," and one volume, "Treasurer's office, 1865." In the cellar are old "Grand lists," which, however, may belong under auditor's office.

Reports 1778-1813(?); 1814-1834 in assembly journals; 1834-1845 in house journals; 1845-1848 in auditor's report; 1846-1870, treasurer's report on State finances, annual; 1870—, biennial. Also, 1778-1849, report of auditor in treasury.

#### TRUSTEES OF PERMANENT SCHOOL FUND.

In reply to your inquiry I may inform you that we have minute books, correspondence, reports, and ledgers covering all phases of the work of the trustees of the permanent school fund since its organization. As secretary I have the custody of such material and it is kept in the National Life Insurance Co. Building under conditions which safeguard its preservation. The vouchers and records of investment are in the hands of the State treasurer, through whom, under the direction of the trustees, the investments of the fund are made.—*Letter from Fred. H. Howland, secretary, Montpelier.*

#### TRUSTEES OF STATE LIBRARY.

The trustees do not have any regular time for meeting, and in the past few years have met only once in two years. The State librarian is ex-officio secretary of the board of trustees and keeps the minutes of the meetings and makes a biennial report to the trustees.—*Letter from E. Lee Whitney, assistant State librarian.*

Reports of trustees, 1843-1870; reports of State librarian, 1870—, biennial.

For Trustees of Soldiers' Home and of State Hospital for the Insane, see those institutions.

#### TRUSTEES OF STATE SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE.

See Elective trustees, and State Agricultural College.

#### TRUSTEES OF THE STATE SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE.

The trustees have very full and complete minutes. These are kept by the secretary, Dean J. L. Hills, Morrill Hall, University of Vermont, Burlington. Copies of these minutes are sent to each trustee as soon as possible after each meeting.—*Letter from E. S. Brigham, commissioner of agriculture and chairman of the trustees, St. Albans.*

#### TUBERCULOSIS COMMISSION.

Report, 1904. No papers found.

#### UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

See Elective trustees of.

#### WORLD'S COLUMBIAN COMMISSION.

Report, 1894. No papers found.



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